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Studies in Education

A SERIES OF TEN NUMBERS

DEVOTED TO

CHILD-STUDY

1902

EDITED BY

EARL BARNES

Volume II.

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1902

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STUDIES IN EDUCATION.

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INTRODUCTION.

Every period in the development of civilization is dominated by some particular mode of thought, and no one can escape the subtle influence of the spirit of his time. To-day we are approaching all the phenomena of life through the method of direct inductive inquiry. Inorganic matter, lower forms of organic life, and man himself, are all being studied by modern scientific methods. In this work comparison adds greatly to the value of observation, and we seek everywhere to trace development.

It was inevitable that this method of direct inquiry should be applied to the phenomena of subjective life; and it was inevitable that the phenomena should be studied from their earliest forms in animals, primitive men and infants, up to the highest development reached in enlightened adults. Genetic psychology, of which child study is an important branch, is no accidental interest, it is no passing fad in education, but it is an integral part of the general movement of modern mind. If all those who are publicly connected with child study were to abandon the movement to-morrow it would go on just the same, because it is an inevitable application of the prevailing intellectual spirit of our times. This is why much of the best work so far done has been the work, not of teachers or parents, but of physicians, sociologists and general scientific students.

These *Studies* are a slight contribution to this new scientific interpretation of the subjective life of man. They are fragmentary records of the work done by a body of fellow students, partly in America, though mainly in England. They make no claim to finality; they are too broken to form a book; but it is hoped they will stimulate individual students, and teachers' and parents' clubs, to make similar studies, or to repeat these.

As a contribution to knowledge, these numbers will be chiefly valuable because they bring into comparison groups of English and American children. These comparisons will, however, be often misleading. The English children studied are nearly always from the Board Schools, and are thus drawn almost exclusively from the laboring, artisan, and small shop-keeping classes. The American children are from our common schools, where the doctor's or lawyer's son sits beside the son of the day laborer. Hence, if national comparisons are made, it must be remembered that we are contrasting the lower classes of England with all classes of America.

EARL BARNES.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S POLITICAL IDEAS.*

Any nation which would be strong must be united. We have only to study a country like Austro-Hungary to see how power is wasted, and national existence threatened by a lack of unity. It is true that the consciousness of a people is but a composite photograph of the consciousness of the effective individuals composing the group, and so there must always be varied shades of feeling and thought moving across the foreground of the national consciousness; but at the same time there must be unity in essential things if any great work is to be done. What then are the essential things in making a strongly unified Austro-Hungary, British Empire, or United States of America?

Students of history and political science have generally held the important factors in forming national unity to be: a common land with natural boundaries; and a common race descent marked by common blood, common speech, common religious beliefs and practices, and common customs and traditions. It is apparent that these are elements which can be little affected by any system of education, working through a moderate period of time. Moreover, the shaping power of these forces has been greatly modified through the development of modern civilization. Navies and railroads and tunnels and the telegraph have weakened and in some cases destroyed the old geographical units; at the same time, they have made it possible to knit together pieces of land lying on opposite sides of the earth. The immigration of millions from all races into the New World, where they have formed new cosmopolitan nations, the rise of the masses, and the multiplication of forms of government have weakened the binding force of common race descent; while with every generation the great churches become less universal in their sway over the minds of men.

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* The best study so far made on this subject is Mr. John Johnson's *Rudimentary Society among Boys.* In *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* 2d Series Baltimore, 1884. In this study Mr. Johnson traces the development of political feeling and activity in a group of boys taken from Baltimore to live on the McDonough farm. The publications of the George Junior Republic at Freeville, New York, are also full of suggestive material.

See also *The History and Pedagogy of American Student Societies* by Henry D. Sheldon D. Appleton & Co., NewYork, 1901.

The fact that these older forces are not so important as formerly is proved by the existence of a power like the British Empire, which, so far from having any geographical unity, in the older sense of the word, is scattered over the earth. In the British Islands alone the Empire combines English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh peoples. Only about fifty millions of her people are white, and some three hundred and fifty millions are colored. In the Empire almost every known language is spoken; while Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity are each represented by millions of the subjects of the king. Yet the British Empire seems to be as strongly unified as Italy, which possesses almost all the old binding forces. Switzerland, one of the most strongly unified of modern nations, illustrates still better the weakness of the old bonds. Ticino is cut off from her sister cantons by the Alps, and belongs geographically to Italy. The Eastern cantons speak German, the Western, French, and the Southern, Italian; so that in the National Assembly three languages are heard. The cantons are further divided between Catholics and Protestants and religious feeling is strong, yet the Confederation is most powerfully knit together.

How then are these modern nations unified? While the older forces, land, race, language, religion, and common experience are still important, the greatest power to-day seems to be that of common ideas imposed on each new generation. The strongest instrumentality for imposing these ideas is a compulsory state school system; and they probably find their easiest access to children's minds and are most effective when embodied in personalities.

We are not here discussing the question whether children should be so indoctrinated and welded into national unity. The use of such a power must always be dangerous, but taking it for granted that the work is to be done, and the leading nations of the earth have accepted this position for the present, then the important question becomes, how can we do the work most effectively? To answer this we must know how national feeling and political consciousness arise in children's minds, the primitive forms in which they appear, the nuclei around which they gather, and the lines along which they grow and develop.

Our own nation has been formed so recently, and under such conditions of publicity, that an examination of the way in which it has been done must throw light upon our problem. At the close of the Revolutionary War, the leaders of public opinion in the scattered American colonies found themselves confronted with no ordinary problem. There was no common land. The United States was, geographically, a vague undefined term. It was generally understood to mean a strip of land along the Atlantic seaboard; but many States, such as Virginia or Connecticut, held that their territory ran straight away west into the unknown forests until it came to the place where the sun set. Not only was there no tradition of political life that could be continued, but instead, the colonists hated King George and the English Constitution, and the old political tradition was looked upon as a thing to be destroyed. Not only was there no established church, but the people had most of them crossed the seas to secure religious freedom; they were split into many dissenting sects, with a general determination that all sects should be equal before the law. The differences in blood, customs and traditions, while not so great as they became with the stream of immigration which set in after 1830, were still very marked as between the Puritans of Massachusetts, the Dutch of New York, the Swedes of Delaware, and the Germans of Pennsylvania.

How did these people make themselves Americans? In the first place the material conditions were very favorable. While there were no natural boundaries there were no serious enemies. The disunited tribes of Indians could be crowded out at will; and a common and weak foe taught co-operation and developed manhood. Then there was the endless frontier where discontent could wear itself out against the forest and the other rugged conditions of a new life.

But from the first, a more or less conscious attempt was made to furnish common ideas that should unite the people; and these gathered around political phrases and public characters. The unifying power of a phrase around which feeling can gather is profound, and the eighteenth century philosophy was

furnished with these in plenty. Through all the public life of those first years one hears a constant recurrence of the statements that "all men are born free and equal;" and that "taxation without representation is tyranny." These phrases found their embodiment and amplification in a crop of quick-grown national heroes. Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Henry were succeeded by Clay, Webster, and later by Lincoln. We put their portraits on our money; we gave our villages, cities and states their names; we created a national literature that gave each of them a halo of glory; and in declaring that they were Americans, not once but a million times, we have all become Americans.

From the first, the free school seized on the children and set them reciting the national political phrases in the words formulated by the national heroes. When the great European immigration came in 1840, we had the schools ready to receive those young enough to be impressed, and we had one generation of adults reared up in our schools, to carry on the work. The rapidity with which we have been able to erase the old marks of nationality, and make Americans of the millions who have landed on our shores, is one of the most wonderful of all modern social phenomena.

The following instance perfectly illustrates our method. A few years ago a Canadian boy of nine came into the common schools of St. Paul, Minnesota. There was talk of annexation at the time, and Canadian feeling was very loyal to England. The first morning, in the class where the boy was placed, one of the children went forward as usual and raised the stars and stripes while the class stood and saluted the flag; after which one of the number advanced and declaimed a fragment from one of our national heroes to the effect that all men are born free and equal. The young Canadian of nine folded his arms and declined to rise or salute the flag. His conscientious scruples were respected, and no slightest pressure was brought to bear upon him except that of example. In a few weeks he was going through the ceremony with the rest, and after six months when

asked to write an answer to the question "What person of whom you have ever heard would you most like to resemble?" he wrote a glowing eulogy on Abraham Lincoln and declared him the greatest man that ever lived.

We have had many natural causes to aid us in this work; we had the free frontier and the rich lands that bring material content. The emigrants came to us in broken numbers, separated from all their old conserving influences, and were thus placed at the mercy of the new ideas. We are finding it more difficult to Americanize the Germans, Bohemians and Poles who have come in late years and have settled together in our large cities. Still, similar conditions in the temperate districts of South America, where republican forms have prevailed since 1823, have produced no such results. Material conditions gave us the opportunity; ideas, embodied in national heroes, and impressed on children through state schools, have made the Americans. Nor is the bond a slight one; it has held the people together when commercial interests and social institutions were bitterly opposed; and to maintain the national existence in 1861, a million men were found ready to lay down their lives.

Granting that on the whole this presentation is correct, that national unity is essential to efficiency, and that such unity is best secured through common ideas and ideals embodied in striking phrases and in national heroes, impressed on each oncoming generation, then it becomes a question of the first importance to determine what qualities in a national hero appeal to children and can be made most effective in teaching each age from infancy to youth.

No other political character of modern times has influenced so many people through so many years as did Her Majesty Queen Victoria of England. She reigned as queen for sixty-four years, and in her own person she expressed most of the characteristics dearest to the hearts of the English people. It would seem that a study of the way in which English children approached their Queen should be helpful in answering the questions we have formulated.

In 1898, more than two years before the death of Queen Victoria, the children in a selected group of London Board

Schools were asked as a regular composition exercise to write an answer to the following question: What person of whom you have ever heard or read would you most wish to be like? Why? We received in all, compositions written by 5,352 children—2,301 boys and 3,051 girls. 5.3 per cent. of the boys and 15.5 per cent. of the girls chose Queen Victoria as their ideal. It is on these 595 papers, 122 by boys and 473 by girls, that the following study is based. So few boys selected the Queen, and sex prejudice plays so large a part in their choice, that we shall speak mainly of the 473 girls.

Since the children were asked whom they would like to resemble, we were able to avoid any suggestion whatever concerning the Queen. Her name was not even mentioned in connection with the little composition; and this gives us an indirect approach to the child which doubtless adds to the value of the evidence. At the same time it makes it difficult to say who is represented by these 600 papers. It is not 600 ordinary Board School children; but it is the 600 who chose Queen Victoria as their ideal, out of 5,352 who wrote for us. In this article we shall speak of them as representative London Board School children.

This study was made about a year after the Queen's Jubilee. In connection with that great celebration, special lessons had been given in all the schools, in which the Queen's many virtues had been brought before the children in a great variety of forms. The objection will naturally arise that we shall obtain parrot-like phrases which the children had been trained to use. If we wanted to compare Queen Victoria with other characters in the children's minds this would be a serious consideration; but since our problem is to see what phrases stick in children's minds and what sides of a political character take hold of them and are remembered, the criticism loses its force.

Most of the papers are very simple and direct and bear internal evidence of being genuine. They are, of course, mixtures of childish feelings and ideas with acquired sentiments and phrases; but all human expression is made up of similar combinations. Here and there, it is true, one finds mere phrases. Children declare they would like to be the Queen because "she is the

best Queen that ever reigned;" "she is grateful," and "she does not indulge in drink." Such papers, however, make up less than two per cent. of those examined. When a child tries to use such phrases he almost always mixes them up with more or less of his real feeling, and these mixtures are both amusing and instructive. Says a girl of eleven, "I would like to be a Queen, because I would like to reign over anywhere that was my place to reign. I would try to be as good as Queen Victoria. Why I should like to be a Queen is because I should like the dresses." The best mixture of real and parrot talk found was the following paper by a boy of eight: "Id like to be the Queen's servant because it is good work to go to the different part of the lands to go on the warter and by stem, they go by stem as well as engings it is very dangerus to go to these diffrent part of the lands because Indeians might capsur you." So far the paper sounds like the honest expression of a healthy-minded adventurous boy; but at this point he seems to realize that he is in school and is forgetting his manners, and so he drops down into the conventional phrases and concludes his paper with, "if i wanted to be onest and good. She would like me and God would like me verey much I should always like to be onist in chool and out of chool then i should be good when i die." One always feels like apologizing to the children and to humanity at large when he quotes such papers. They are so few that to quote them is misleading; and one has no right to make sport of the unconsciously revealed double nature, or other harmless peculiarities of his fellow human beings, be they six years old or sixty.

Nine out of ten of the papers have a ring that is full of the tone of genuine metal, and it is of quite as much importance that we should know what alloy can be mixed with this pure child at different ages as it is to know what the uninfluenced child, if there were such a thing, would do.

The following papers, one by a boy of eleven and the other by a girl of eleven, are representative of the evidence upon which this study is based: "I should like to be like the Queen, because she is nice looking, and kind to everybody and because she has a lot of horses and rides about everywhere and has a lot of servants to wate on her and geting here food for her and cooking it for her

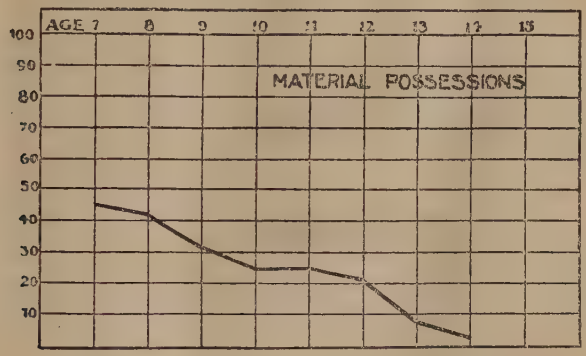
and do everything she wants." "I should most like to resemble the Queen, not because of her riches, and her situation as Queen of England, for these cannot make a person any happier than they are, but because she is so good and kind to those of lower rank than herself. Some persons of her rank perhaps might not think of visiting the poor, or the hospital where all the wounded soldiers are taken, they would be far above that, according to their way of thinking. The Queen is also a total abstainer which if she were not this country would be much worse than it is."

In working up the data, the compositions were first analyzed into their elements and these elements were then classified in two groups: those dealing with what the Queen has; and those dealing with what she is.

Those children who consider the Queen's life a desirable one because of what she has, mention the facts that she is rich; that she has fine clothes, carriages and beautiful presents; that she travels when she likes; that she lives in a palace and has servants to wait on her. As a girl of eleven says: "I should like to be like the Queen so that I could have the lovely dresses that she has, and all the nice rooms that is in her palace. So that I could ride about in a carridge and so that I could have a lot of soldiers to guard me and so that I could be on the throne and have nice things to eat every day and so that I could walk about in the gardin when I liked." Other desirable objective conditions of the Queen's life are the facts that "she has nice food;" "whenever she wants to sit out in the open air she can;" "when the bread and meat are dear she can afford to buy them without difficulty;" and "when she likes she can go for a holiday and stop as long as she wishes to for she has not got any work to do at home and when she comes home she finds all the work done as if she had been at home all the while."

If now we consider these statements quantitatively, the results show a number of interesting tendencies. In the first place, out of the 1, 095 statements made by the girls, only 225, about one-quarter, deal with the Queen's possessions, or the external elements of her life. If we look at the distribution of these answers by ages, the percentages are:

Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
	46%	43%	33%	26%	25%	21%	6%	1%



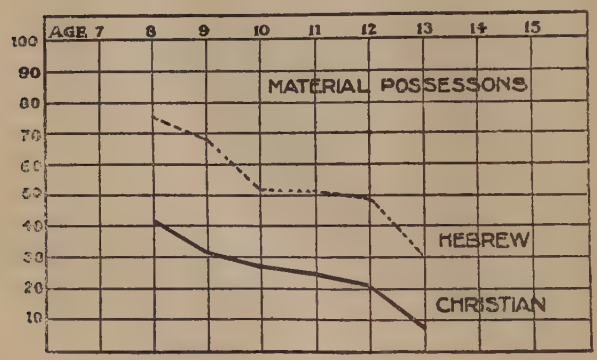
Thus at seven years old, half the statements deal with the possessions, or external setting, of the Queen's life; but the number grows steadily less with advancing years, until at fourteen only one in a hundred of the statements deal with her objective life.

This same test was tried by a head teacher in one of the Board Schools in East London, where 97 per cent. of the children were of Hebrew parentage. Out of 460 girls who wrote, 20 per cent. chose Queen Victoria as their ideal, as compared with 15.5 per cent. in Christian schools. The data enable us to draw a curve for only five ages. In general, the results are almost the same as for Christian girls; but the material possessions of the Queen appeal powerfully to the Hebrew girls, and while this choice tends, as with Christians, to vanish with age, it remains throughout the elementary school period decidedly stronger.

Not only quantitatively, but qualitatively as well, the papers emphasize this difference. They declare that Queen Victoria has "rings and brooches filled with diamonds and pearls. I should like to be her. She has plenty of jewels I should like to be her." "I would ware nice jewels and sleep in a golden bed with silk cushions and ride in carriages from one castle to another and would go to parlerment with all the Lords." "She had a rich husband and he gave her plenty of jewels of gold and silver."

"She has gay rich clothes and a crown of perls and diamonds, and a palace of gold." "When she goes for a walk she goes in her golden carriage." The percentages for the ages run:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Jews	75%	69%	52%	51%	49%	30%
Christians . .	43%	33%	26%	25%	21%	6%

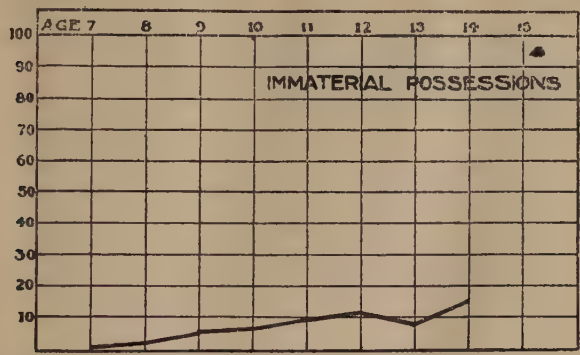


Whether this difference is due to the fact that long centuries of persecution have driven the Jews to accumulate personal property as a protection, or whether it is due to deep racial differences one cannot say; but it is certainly true that the Jewish children in London, even at eight years old and among the girls, are much more attracted by personal possessions than are the Christians of the same social class.

To generalize this part of our study we can say: In London Board Schools the young girls lay a good deal of stress upon the possessions and external settings of a character like Queen Victoria. With girls of thirteen or fourteen these factors are unimportant in setting forth their ideal.

Only 102 of the 1,095 statements made by the girls deal with the Queen's subjective possessions. They say she is "honored," "respected," and "all nations love her." Examined quantitatively these statements show a growing line of tendency.

Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
	0%	2%	6%	7%	10%	11%	10%	13%

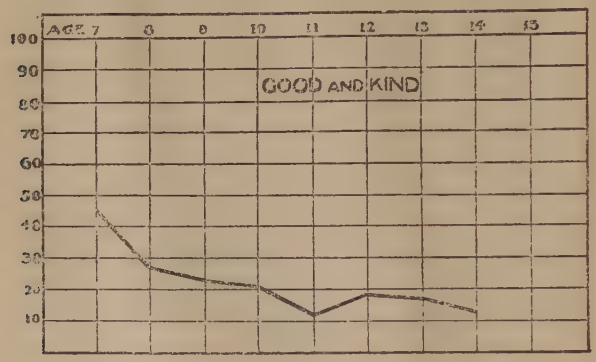


To generalize: Subjective possessions, such as love and honor, are not very prominent factors in the public character ideals of London Board School children, even with Her Majesty the Queen. They do not appear at all at seven but grow steadily as the girls grow older.

Those girls who deal with the qualities of the Queen's character, with what she is, declare that they want to be like their Queen because she is good, kind, generous, humble, obedient, honest, truthful, pious and noble. She is fond of children, a noble woman, a good mother, just, punctual, loving, industrious, gentle, and brave. She is modest, helpful, sympathetic and a good wife. She has tact, speaks many languages, is learned, clever, talented, sensible and wise. An analysis of the evidence brings out certain generalizations as to the order in which these personal qualities appeal to London Board School girls. The greater number of papers are confined to the vague general statement that the Queen is "good and kind." Two hundred and thirty-nine statements reiterate this crowning glory.

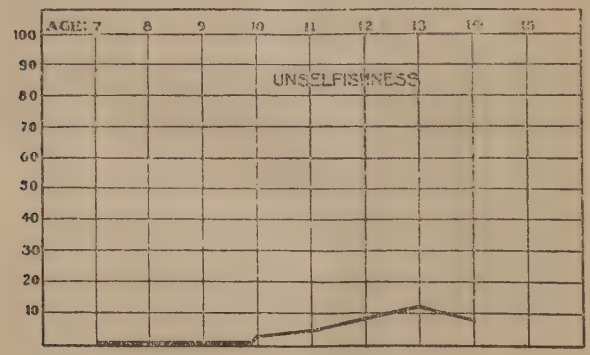
We can generalize this fact by saying: London Board School girls think of the qualities of Queen Victoria at first under large undifferentiated headings like "good" and "kind." These vague and all comprehending terms disappear as the children grow older. If we examine the statements by ages we find that while the line of movement is not perfectly regular, it is a disappearing form of expression as the children grow older.

Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
	46%	27%	24%	21%	12%	19%	18%	14%



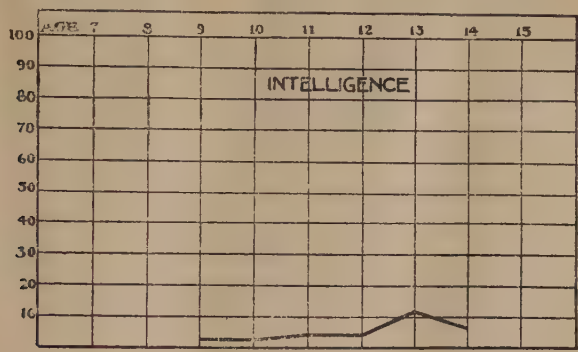
What is it that takes the place of these vague qualities? It is a number of more specific virtues. For instance, there is a steadily growing number of girls, who mention the Queen's unselfishness and generosity. The percentages at the successive ages are:

Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs
	0%	0%	0%	3%	4%	6%	11%	9%



The intellectual qualities included under the headings "sensible," "learned," "tactful," "clever," "talented" and "wise" grow in the following order:

Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
	0%	0%	2.2%	1.4%	2.2%	2.6%	10.3%	6.3%

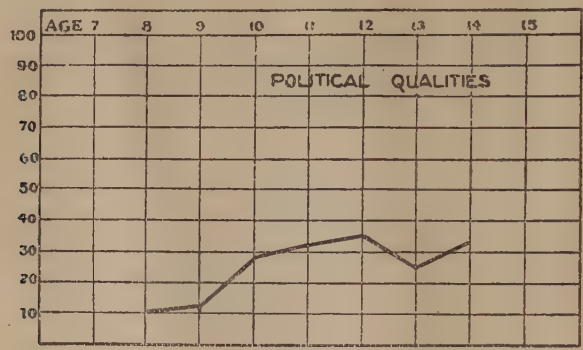


The domestic qualities of being "a good mother," "a good wife," and "fond of children," which hardly play any part before ten years old, are mentioned by 20 per cent. of the girls at fourteen.

This enables us to extend our generalization and say that in considering the personal qualities of the Queen the young children group them in large vague strands of "good" and "kind;" which strands are gradually broken up as the children grow older into more specific qualities such as unselfishness, intellectuality and good domestic management.

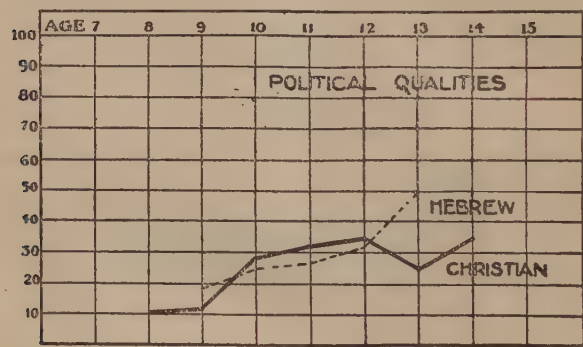
If now we search through the papers for traces of interest in the Queen because of her relations to the state, we find only the most rudimentary beginnings of any sense that she was the most important political personage of the nineteenth century. Out of the 1,095 statements made by the girls only 326, about one-third, have the slightest political content, even counting the following expressions as political: "She is queen;" "is ruler;" "she is good to her country;" "she has a large kingdom or empire;" "she has ruled for many years;" "she is a just ruler;" "she loves her people;" "she has preserved peace;" "she has many soldiers;" "she is loved and honored and is just as a ruler." None of these phrases express any clear conception of the political life that gathers around the ruler of the British Empire. If we examine the distribution of these answers through the ages, we find that while we have only a dim rudimentary political sense, it is still a steadily growing quantity.

Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs
	0%	10%	12%	28%	31%	34%	26%	33%



The Jewish girls show no more interest in the Queen's political life than do the Christians. The percentages for the ages run:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Jews	—	19%	26%	27%	31%	50%
Christians .	10%	12%	28%	31%	34%	26%



As in describing the Queen's personal qualities, so in speaking of her political life, most of the answers are confined to vague goodness. One hundred and thirty-eight papers, nearly half of those having political content, say that the Queen is a "good ruler" or "is good to her people." Gradually, with advancing years, the specific statements that she is a "just ruler" or is "honored by her people," gain ground. Thus such rudimentary political sense as there is seems to grow out of personal interest and

to follow the same law of development from vague to specific that we found before.

In general then, we can say that less than one-third of the London Board School girls, when thinking of the Queen as an ideal, think of her political qualities. Those who do think of her political qualities, think of them at first only as vague personal qualities of general goodness applied to a larger group. Very slowly more specific political attributes appear, but they hardly get beyond personal relations of love, honor, and being good, even with the oldest of the London Board School girls. The papers by the boys follow the same general lines of movement.

The few children who selected the Prince of Wales as their ideal, only a fraction of 1 per cent. show the same tendencies we have discovered in our larger study of Her Majesty. Most of the children who wish to be like him wish it because of what he has. "He is the head of Wales," they say; "he has very easy work to do;" "he is so rich and he has a good education;" "then I could do what I like;" "he has plenty of gold and silver and he is living a happy and a merry life;" "he has servants to wait on him;" "he has got some carriages and some horses." Another group wants to be like him because of his public life: "He is very kind and nice to the people;" "he is good and kind and I am sure he will make a good King as his mother is a Queen;" "he wrote a very kind telegram when Mr. Gladstone was on his death bed;" "he did not think himself above carrying the pole of Mr. Gladstone's coffin;" and "he is very good to cripples."

None of these children want to be like the Prince of Wales because of the political power he exercises or may exercise in the future; in fact, none of them think of his connection with the state. He is an individual having a good time; or, because of his exalted position, radiating financial benefit and kindly condescension upon the mass of the people. This is not because the Prince of Wales is a state dignitary, studiously avoiding participation in state affairs; but because children approach state affairs and political ideas through personal relations. They can understand a man's giving a city or a nation a good administration only after they have understood how he can confer benefit on them individually. They must understand the ruler's relation to them in

their small individuality before they can understand his relation to their larger collective personality.

In the hope of throwing some further light upon the development of English children's political ideas, we asked them, about a year before Queen Victoria died, what political power the Queen of England actually possessed. The pupils were told to write an answer to the question: What can Queen Victoria do as Queen which she could not do if she were only a rich lady?

Papers written by eighty-three boys and seventy-two girls, mainly twelve or thirteen years of age, and most of them from a Birmingham Board School, have been worked over. Of course there is every range of opinion concerning the powers of the Queen. One girl says: "If Queen Victoria ordered something to be done by one of her subjects they would be compelled to do it;" and a boy adds, "she can have what she likes." On the other hand, a boy of thirteen declares that "the Queen cannot force anybody to do anything;" "she has to obey laws;" and another says: "She has no power if the people say 'No' and Queen Victoria says 'yes' she must say 'No.'"

If we first look at those answers that deal with political power, we find them confined to vague statements that the Queen can rule or reign over the country or her subjects. Sixty per cent. of the boys and 95 per cent. of the girls give this information. Some of these same children go on to state more specific facts, but most are content to write merely: "Queen Victoria can reign and govern England, but an ordinary woman cannot govern but herself."

Among specific political powers, the one most commonly mentioned is the pardoning of criminals; this being given by 25 per cent. of the boys and 1 per cent. of the girls; two children reverse this power and say she can sentence criminals. Fourteen per cent. of the boys say the Queen has power to declare war and peace, but none of the girls mention this power.

Concerning the Queen's relation to laws there is great uncertainty of judgment: Thirty per cent. of the boys and 31 per cent. of the girls connect her in some way with the law-making power. "Queen Victoria," says a girl of twelve, "makes the laws of England but if she was only a rich lady she would not be

allowed to do so." A girl of thirteen speaks even more emphatically: "Queen Victoria can order her subjects about. She can make laws for the British Empire. Whereas a rich lady cant." Seven boys and seven girls say the Queen has power to pass laws. Seven boys and one girl say she can prevent a law being passed; and eleven boys and twelve girls speak of its being necessary that laws shall go before her, or say they must receive her sanction. Two children give the Queen unlimited power of imposing taxes. "She can make the people pay heavy taxes, and make war against any other country," says a girl of eleven.

The relations of the Queen and Parliament are very uncertain in the minds of these children. As a girl of twelve says: "Queen Victoria, as Queen, has a lot to do with Parliament, and the government, and if she was only a rich lady, she would not have anything to do with these things." A boy of twelve says: "She can do anything she likes if the Houses of Parliament agree to it. An ordinary woman could not do it." Parliamentary checks on the Queen's power are directly mentioned by only a half dozen children. Three boys and one girl say the Queen can speak in Parliament; and two say she can sit in Parliament. Two girls say she chooses the members of Parliament; two say she can elect six members; and one says she rules the House of Commons. Two boys say she can dismiss Parliament.

The Queen's power to grant titles of nobility is mentioned by 10 per cent. of the boys and 14 per cent. of the girls. Five per cent. of the boys mention her power to grant medals and pensions. One child speaks of her as opening great buildings; and one boy of thirteen says: "Men cannot rise into high positions without her help."

Some of the children are naturally attracted away from real power to its signs. As a boy of twelve says: "Queen Victoria can seat upon the throne which an ordinary woman cant do. She can wear the crown of England which an ordinary woman cant do." Three children mention the fact that she can have her portrait stamped on coins; one says she can use the letters V. R. I., and another, struggling in a very confused tangle of ideas, says she can "sign the letters from foreign countries." Fifteen per cent. of the boys and 25 per cent. of the girls mention the fact that she can wear a crown; 13 per cent. of the boys and 10 per

cent. of the girls speak of her sitting on a throne; and two boys and two girls mention the fact that she has soldiers to guard her.

In considering the queenly attributes of Victoria's position, a boy of ten represents a point of view which our first study shows to be common with still younger children. "The Queen," he says, "do not have to work a woman do. The Queen can ride in a carriage when she likes a woman cant. The Queen can go to Scotland and other countries whenever she likes for a holiday. She can always have good meals and waiters to wait on her a woman cant."

Judging from these few papers the younger children pick out as the queenly attributes the power to have what you want and to do as you please. When a little older, they are attracted by the right to use certain honorary distinctions and to confer titles and medals. With still older children the political powers of the Queen first appear as vague general statements that she rules the country or reigns over her people. It is, of course, true that a well-educated adult would find it difficult to define the exact limits of the royal prerogative in England. But with these Board School children the Queen is treated only indirectly as a political figure even in response to this direct question. In this study, as in the first, the children approach government through power expressed in personal possessions and in personal qualities.

The following conclusions seem justified by these studies:

Children are born extreme individualists, and only gradually do they grasp the sense of a larger social and political whole of which they are to form a part.

Their first social and political ideas gather around individuals whom they admire and love and for whom they will later feel loyalty.

Our earlier study in ideals shows that when London Board School girls write about their ideal character, Queen Victoria is the only woman in public life who is chosen by more than one in a hundred.[1]

Of the 1,095 statements made about Queen Victoria by the girls, two-thirds are concerned with personal qualities, in no way dependent on her being a Queen.

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[1] Children's Ideals. In the Pedagogical Seminary, April, 1901. Based on a different mass of data and giving 18 per cent. of girls' choices for Queen Victoria.

These personal statements, with the younger girls, deal with material possessions and with vague subjective qualities, like being good and kind; as the girls grow older, increasing stress is laid upon subjective possession of love and honor, and more on definite subjective qualities, like generosity or ability.

The one-third of the statements dealing with the Queen's relations to other people, and which may be considered as having some rudimentary political content, are largely concerned with her personal relations to the people or to the nation at large. The Queen is approached through the Woman, the Ruler through the Friend.

To put it differently: Children rise to a sense of characters in public life through a knowledge of the people around them; they judge of the relation of these characters to the State by their relations to themselves; they first sense law through personal commands, and the State through its officials.

To educate good citizens we must surround children with good men and women; and for the family and neighborhood ideals we must gradually substitute worthy public character ideals. These should be attractive because of their material setting and their general reputation for goodness. Only with the older children, in the period of elementary education, can we deal with more specialized qualities. The sense of the abstract State and of their obligations to it will come to the children only later in life. Special emphasis on citizenship, as usually understood in elementary education, is largely wasted time; and yet the patriotic teacher will breed patriots in all his attempts to make good men and women. Citizenship is but one attribute of good and intelligent men and women, and this study calls us back once more to a realization of the wholeness of elementary education. All attempts to make good artisans, good leaders of commerce, good soldiers and officers, or good citizens and rulers by any short cut, will produce only one-sided, uncertain and dangerous grown-up children.

But this study is much more than a study in children's political ideas. It traces the stages through which mind approaches the abstraction of the State and the duties of citizenship. We are all of us, on some sides of our natures, cases of arrested development. In a great modern democracy, like England or the

United States, three-quarters of the adult population is on the plane of childhood, so far as political understanding is concerned. The mass of the women, the colored people, the new immigrants, and the lowest layer of native adult white males represent an intelligence, which in its attitude towards the suffrage, is not superior to the twelve year old children of this generation in the state schools; while many of these adults are only on the seven and eight year old plane of political intelligence.

No one in this country has had a better opportunity for knowing our ignorant foreign voters, and no one has had greater practical cause to despair of their political regeneration than Miss Jane Addams, the founder of the Hull House University Settlement in Chicago. And yet in her very remarkable article, in 1898, she recognizes that it is not viciousness but childishness that prevents good government. "The desire of the Italian and Polish and Hungarian voters in an American city to be represented by 'a good man' is not a whit less strenuous than that of the best native stock. Only their idea of the good man is somewhat different. He must be good according to their highest standards of goodness. He must be a man kind to the poor—not only in a general way, but with particular and unfailing attention to their every want and misfortune. Their joys he must brighten and their sorrows he must alleviate. In emergency, in catastrophe, in misunderstandings with employers and with the law, he must be their strong tower of help. Let him in all these things fill up their ideal of the 'good man,' and he has their votes at his absolute disposal."[1]

The franchise is being steadily extended to all this unprepared adult population. One who would lead such voters for selfish purposes need not appeal to base and mercenary motives. He can control the vote by appealing to the best in minds on this plane of development. Let him body himself forth in tangible and visible power; let him be good in easily understood terms of things to eat and present help, and he can dictate the ballot.

While voters think as children, bosses will rule. The remedy lies not in more specific information, but in a more developed intelligence.

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[1] By Jane Addams. International Journal of Ethics, April, 1898.

POLITICAL IDEAS OF AMERICAN CHILDREN.

When I left England last September, Mr. McKinley had just been shot down by an assassin, and the civilized world was anxiously awaiting the bulletins that announced his condition. The last news we heard was good news, but when we came into New York harbor and saw the flags at half mast, we knew that seventy millions of people were mourning their chief. When we landed and passed out into the city we found it subdued in the presence of a grief that was personal, even to the children. It was the same national grief that I had seen in England some months before, and I realized that Mr. McKinley was our Queen Victoria.

The comparison was in many ways striking: the Queen had ruled for sixty-four years, and Mr. McKinley for only five, but through martyrdom he, like the Queen, had given his whole life to his people; she was a queen living in a palace, surrounded by all the pomp and pageantry of royalty; he was a common citizen of Canton, Ohio, avoiding all ceremony and display, and yet each was the best known figure in a great democracy, and the two rulers had appealed to their people because of essentially the same personal qualities. Neither was admired because of splendid intellectual qualities; neither sought to shape the times by inaugurating personal movements. They were both constitutional rulers in the fullest sense of the term; both sought to carry into effect the expressed desires of their people. They commanded our deepest love and respect; and we trusted them because of what they were.

It seemed that a study on Mr. McKinley, parallel to the one we had been making on Her Majesty the Queen, might prove valuable; and so we gathered eighteen hundred papers written by American school children in answer to the question: Would you wish to be like Mr. McKinley? Why? The compositions were written by boys and girls from seven to fifteen years old; and most of them came from places like Long Branch, N. J., and Winfield, L. I.; few were from large cities. On the whole, the papers seemed fairly representative of our common school children.

The following compositions, one by a girl of eight and the other by a girl of sixteen, are representative: "I do wish to be like Mr. McKinley. Because he was a good man to his wife and never bad he was always good and never told a lie." "I would like to be like Mr. McKinley because he was a good christian man, had a fine character, a good education and because he was dearly loved by whoever met him; and was greatly respected both by the people of the United States and abroad."

An analysis of the papers shows that the 1,800 children made 2,973 statements. The percentages quoted below are reckoned on the number of statements made and not on the number of children who wrote. One hundred and fifty-four of the children did not want to be like Mr. McKinley. A girl of fifteen is fairly representative of this class: "No. I would not like to have the care he had on his mind all the time. I would not like to have been in the public as he was. Then when you are in the President's seat you are not sure when you are going to be killed for you have lots of ennies." A boy of eleven, puts the matter more briefly: "I would not like to be like Mr. McKinley because it isnt any fun and you might get shot you have so much work to do."

Seventeen per cent. of the children escape all analysis by putting Mr. McKinley into some group that they think admirable. They say they wish to be like Mr. McKinley because he was an American, a Christian, a President, a Republican, or a gentleman. For the purposes of our study, these answers have little value.

In the English papers, we found a good many children wishing to be like the Queen because of her material possessions. Mr. McKinley was a comparatively poor man; he studiously avoided any public display that might seem to set him above his fellow citizens; he wore the same clothes that might have been worn by any American in professional life; he lived in the White House at Washington, but many a local merchant lives in a better dwelling; when moving about the country he had no military escort; there was nothing in the material setting of his life to catch the fancy of a child. Hence only 2 per cent. of their statements give the facts that he "was well-to-do," "had good pay," or "lived in a fine house," as reasons for wishing to be like him.

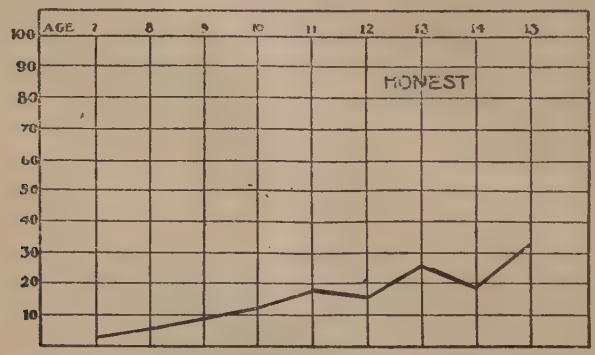
Students of politics have generally held that the material setting of royalty should be rich and striking in order that the undeveloped minds of the subjects might be awed into respect for government. In England we found the young children greatly attracted by the throne and its attendants; and judging from the preparations now being made for the coronation of Edward VII., Englishmen still count on the setting of royalty as a valuable factor in government. It certainly appeals to, and in some measure overpowers, undeveloped minds, and it may still be valuable for strengthening imperial rule in India and Egypt, or for keeping the masses in their place. Even with English school children, however, it seems to lose much of its attractiveness by the time they are thirteen. In our democracy, embodied power would arouse fear of political despotism, and it could secure political stability only by shutting off the aspiration of the lower classes. The feeling that every boy is a potential President of the United States has been one of our most deeply prized possessions. Our school literature is filled with it; and no address before children is complete which fails to remind them that each is on his way to the presidential chair. The results of this teaching appear over and over again in these papers. The children constantly refer to the fact that President McKinley was like themselves. They say: "Everybody liked to talk to him because he was so kind and good." "Everybody liked him and he did kindness to everybody and was promoted from a poor boy to be one of our Presidents of the United States;" "he did not think he was a Privilege Character;" "he was a good man and thought one person was no better than another;" "he was very kind and treated every one alike;" "in his early days he went to school and learned hard and worked so hard till he got to be President." This upspringing sense of equality must strike anyone forcibly after reading the English papers. Undoubtedly it means general unrest, frequently disappointment, and sometimes vulgar pretension and self-assertion; but it always means life and hope.

One is astonished here, as in the English study, to see how few children mention the President's immaterial possessions of

greatness, honor, fame and love. Only 5 per cent. of the statements deal with these desirable possessions in which Mr. McKinley was so rich.

Turning from Mr. McKinley's possessions to his character, we find, as in our study on Queen Victoria, that most of the children are concerned with vague general statements that he was good and kind. If we combine with these the assertions that he was noble, true, generous, brave, just, nice, good to his wife and to his mother, we find that 57 per cent. of the statements fall into this group of rather vague moral qualities. As the children grow older these statements grow slowly less, while the more specific statement that he was honest is mentioned by the children of the various ages as follows:

Ages,	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
	1%	5%	7%	12%	16%	15%	24%	18%	31%

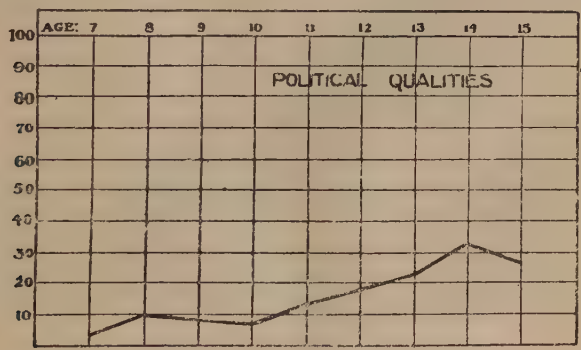


Mr. McKinley was an intelligent, well-read man, with wide experience and a large grasp of affairs, yet only 2 per cent. of the statements in our papers refer to these qualities, and in describing them the children generally say he was smart. In their minds this word carries no reproach, as is shown by the fact that they combine it with "honest," "true" and "nice." These few references to Mr. McKinley's intellectual ability increase slowly as the children grow older.

If we turn now to the statements that touch Mr. McKinley's political life we find them here, as in our earlier study, few in number and vague and indeterminate in quality. Only 10 per

cent. of the statements touch in the slightest degree upon the larger relations of the president of the country to his fellow citizens. Most of the statements counted as political go no further than to say that he was good to the people, that he loved his country, ruled well, or was open to approach from any of his fellow citizens. A boy of fifteen says: "he made good rules by which all of the United States was governed." Another of thirteen says: "he was a good president of the United States and did not treat the people creuly." Another of twelve says: "he was good to his country and was not strict with his laws." These are representative of the best of the political statements, but they are very rudimentary. They increase with advancing years as follows:

Ages,	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
	3%	10%	9%	7%	13%	18%	23%	31%	28%



Mr. McKinley was known to the writers of most of these papers simply because of the fact that he was their president, yet they think of him only as a man.

Since 1840, the great problem of political education in America has been the foreign voter and his children. Among these papers there are many signed with foreign names, and they often have characteristics that remind us again of the fact that with many of our citizens we must build our political work from the very foundations. A little girl named Rapp wants to be like President McKinley because he was "President of the Youninetstets;" another, named Lopez, writes the name of her adopted country "You Nitte States." Armando Gonzalez and Louis

Joseppson, twelve and thirteen years old, are on the way to the ballot-box with the following command of English: "Yes he wold do emeny kintes thing to every one he see or to help them in any way could and pleas them as much as he could." "I like tu by rich and hev my house." The schools that teach these strangers how to spell United States will also teach them to revere the memory of Mr. McKinley, and the last will help more than the first to make them devoted and safe citizens.

On the whole, this study simply strengthens the conclusions reached in the earlier work on Queen Victoria. The chief magistrate of a nation is an important factor in shaping the ideas and ideals of his people, through the fact that his position is so conspicuous that he is known to every one. In thinking of him from their own point of view, however, it is not his political power, his statesmanship, nor his intelligence that appeals to school children, nor, presumably, to citizens who are on the intellectual level of school children, but it is his qualities of heart and character vaguely felt as goodness, kindness and general trustworthiness. To appeal to minds like these a man must be felt rather than thought; which simply says that the lower layers of democracies are led by their emotions, not by their minds.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. I.

Mere Rhyme.

"Mr. Bryan, poutin' and cryin'.
Mr. McKinley, long and spindley.
Mr. Palmer is a charmer.
Mr. Reed lives on feed.
Mr. Depew is nothing new.
Mr. Hanna, take a banana.
Mr. Jones, skin and bones.
Mr. McGuire punctured his tire.
Mr. Loud smiled and bowed.
Mr. Kelley wants some jelly.
Mr. Kinne, lean and skinny.
Mr. Malcolm, you are welcome.
Mr. Patton, silk and satin.
Mr. Ayer, take good care,
Or Mr. Bubb will give you a rub."

By Elsie and John, in "Little Nonsense," Stanford University, November, 1896.

"Newbraska and Alaska
Went out for a walk.
Said Newbraska to Alaska,
Let's have a little talk.
All right said Alaska,
But what will we talk about,
Why said Nebraska,
About the camping out."

Written by a girl of seven, in a book of "Poems" she composed.

"The donkey, the donkey,
He put on a white cap.
The donkey, the donkey,
He put on a white cuff.

The dog, the dog,
He danced a jig.
The cat, the cat,
She caught a bird.

The rabbit, the rabbit,
He ran a race with the dog.
When he came to his hole
He popped down it quick as a flash."

Recited by a kindergarten boy of seven to his teacher.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

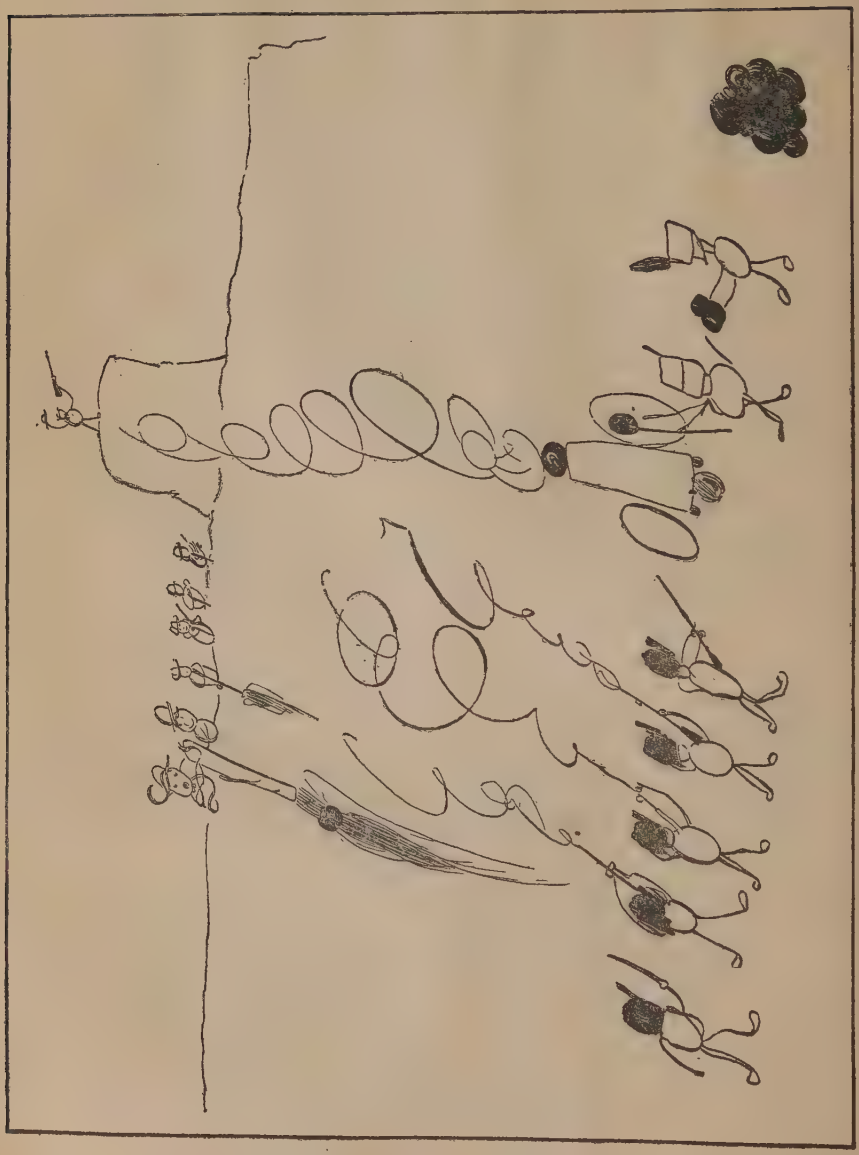
Each of the ten numbers in this volume will have a story or poem composed by a child, with accompanying commentary and suggestions. Every spontaneous expression of a child's life gives us new opportunity to understand not only the peculiarities of his individual nature, but also the nature of children as a whole.

The specimens in this number represent the lowest form of poetic construction that we know. Nothing is more marked in the life of infancy than its love for simple rhythms. A baby loves to be rocked, swung, trotted and patted. He loves, too, rhythmic sequences in sound, the more simple and monotonous the better. Nó—Nò—Nó—Nò—prolonged and alternately rising and falling, makes one of the most satisfactory of cradle songs for a young baby. The infant with no control, or slight control, over his legs, arms, eyes and voice is dissipated into weariness with his unrelated movements. Harmonious physical and vocal sequences draw his nervous impulses into systematic rhythms, and not only rest him but also organize his nervous system on a plain not previously mastered. If carried to excess these rockings and singings react badly, as does excess in food or in anything else.

As the infant gains strength and self-control he springs up and down by himself, swings his arms, and makes articulate sounds in time. As he masters language, he babbles over the same word or strings of words; and the "poems" printed above are little more than this unthinking babble of words.

All arts evolve from simple beginnings; all art appreciation comes along the same slow road from simplest starting points. Repeatedly in the past, educational reformers have discovered this love of rhythmic sequence in little children and have sought to use it in formal education. Plato makes it the basis of all sound education; Owen and Wilderspin made much of it, and the early English infant school resounded with jingles, stampings and clappings.

With the organization of the great machine it was overdone and fell into disrepute and became a thing always to be avoided. The kindergarten rediscovered it. But has not the kindergarten made the mistake of aiming too high, and so lost sometimes its hold on the infants it has sought to lead? If an ideal is so far above us that we cannot approximate it, it paralyzes our efforts. Have not the dainty plays and music often done this, so that instead of awakening new energy, and steadily organizing it as it came, it has left the children tired and fretful through trying to imitate a rhythm too far above them? All things that are are good. Our problem is: How can we use this babbling instinct in children so as to build up those higher sequences which, when informed with fact and fancy, will lead to the creation of new lyrics and to the appreciation of old epics?



STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. I.

The Boer War.

Everything that a child says, does, or makes is in some measure both an expression of his own particular qualities of mind and feeling, and of the qualities of similar children everywhere. Hence every time that a child moves, speaks, or makes anything he gives us an opportunity to become acquainted with him and with children of his class. But here, as everywhere, one must be trained to see if he is to recognize the larger and deeper significance of childish expressions. This training may come through every day experience of home and street and school, or it may come through conscious and organized effort. Some people have a genius for dealing with children and they understand by instinct, as we say. But even geniuses will see more as they are better trained. We gain power to see the beauty and significance and possibilities of art by admiring and studying art; the same is true of landscape, sea, or plants, and the same is true of children.

In each number of these Studies we shall reproduce a child's drawing, and print a commentary intended to direct attention to the significance of the picture as an expression of a child's life. Such drawings pass through the hands of parents and teachers every day; and they ought to speak constantly of the qualities of mind and spirit that gave them birth.

This picture was drawn by a seven year old English boy to illustrate the South African War. In the distance the Boers are intrenched. In the foreground the English, in their high bearskin caps, advance to the assault.

The most marked characteristic of the whole picture is its action. The soldiers are all alive and moving; the English general on our left waves his sword and presses forward; Mr. Kruger on his kopje waves his hat and gun and exhorts his burghers to win; the English cannon belches its series of shells straight at the Boer leader, while the gunner hurries up more ammunition from

the pile on our right; the whole plain is filled with the fray. This is the most marked quality of a young child's life. He is himself full of action and he wants things to move along. In furnishing him pictures for his books, or for his wall decoration, should we not recognize this fact?

The boy has some sense of perspective, as is shown by the way in which the distant Boers are massed together, and by the small size of Mr. Kruger on the kopje in the distance. At the same time he makes the Boer on our left as large as the English general who confronts him, and he is helpless in handling the perspective of the cannon wheels in the foreground. He is learning perspective as he learns everything else, here a little and there a little. The diagramatic or representative quality that marks all a young child's expression is very striking; the men are mere symbols, and notwithstanding all the fire and smoke, there is not a rifle which, if taken out of its connection, could be recognized as a gun; the cannon wheels if taken away from their connection, are mere circles. The daring spirit, and the making of good effects with small resources is common to all of a child's expression where he has not been frightened, cowed or discouraged by criticism.

The boy's strong Pro-English sympathy may be shown in the fact that he puts the enemy in the trenches and sends his own countrymen, with no superiority in numbers or cannon, charging across the open plain. It is certainly shown in the fact that the English officer leads his men while the Boer leader remains on the distant kopje. Note, too, that the English cannon throws two shells, with more coming, while the Boer cannon throws but one, and the first of the three English rifles is answered by only one on the Boer side.

There may be still more in the picture; it certainly expresses the thought and feeling of a large part of the English people at the time it was drawn some months ago.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. I.

The Problem and Work Already Done.

In the first volume of these *Studies,* we carried through the ten numbers composing it a study on punishment as an illustration of the way in which inductive quantitative work is done. In that series we tried to indicate the weaknesses and dangers of the method, and the possible results which might be reached. In the present series we shall treat children's ideals in the same way.

In all inductive studies, the imagination must clear the way, and steadily lead the way. He who blunders along with eyes shut to the possible significance of things, gathering observations right and left with no regard to their possible or probable relations, will find when he has collected a thousand facts that they can be combined only by writing them down in the form of an algebraic addition. In a field dealing with comparatively simple specimens, like stones or plants, a collection can be gathered, which may be labeled museum or herbarium, without particularly disturbing the mind of the collector. Such a collection will not be science, but simply a junk shop where a man with an active mind can find material for his work possibly more easily than he can find it in the fields. But even in making up such a collection, an inquiring, comparing, and suggesting mind will add much to its value. A great deal of the study devoted to children has failed of results because the investigators carelessly or intentionally let their minds sleep while they gathered the data. In 1881, the Education Department of the American Social Science Association sent out a request for data in answer to some thirty questions. Among these were: "At what age did the baby exhibit consciousness, and in what manner? . . . fear the heat from a stove or grate? speak and what did it say?" At the end of a year the secretary reported that she had some barrels of answers but that she had not found time to work them up. For such a study time would not suffice, eternity would be too short.

The first step then in a hopeful piece of investigation is to find some question that probably, or at least possibly, can be answered; and to which the answer would be worth having when

found. This first step in inductive study requires genius of the highest order. Only a man gifted with that combination of imagination and sense which makes his guesses good working hypotheses can look into the complex world of organized matter, or life, and see what questions give promise of yielding fruitful answers. In each generation a very few men formulate the problems worked out by the physicists or the chemists of that generation. Many men do the work; a few suggest the lines of promise. In child study, Dr. G. Stanley Hall has furnished us with nearly all the valuable questions we have so far worked out in America, though here and there other students have occasionally formulated good working problems.

In 1897, Mrs. Dyke, at that time Miss Estelle M. Darrah, an instructor in the Department of Education in Stanford University, gathered the material for a study on children's ideals. The subject of ideals had been discussed for centuries; here and there children had written compositions on their ideals; but Mrs. Dyke formulated some of the questions that could be answered, devised a plan of experiment, collected data, and began answering the questions.

The subject is a most important one. We live by our admirations; as a man desires so is he; what he loves that he becomes. Hence what you would have a child become must be set up as an ideal in his mind, and night and day it will shape him into its likeness.

Mrs. Dyke saw that the part of a child's ideal that is expressed in some particular person could be studied; and if the child could be led to express himself freely and truly we might learn something of the part which ideal persons play in children's lives. To plant ideals wisely we must know how they arise and grow in children's minds. Whether our theory of education makes us follow or thwart the child's desire, it is equally necessary for us to understand his native tendency.

Having settled on a problem that promised to repay investigation, the next step was to devise an experiment that would yield results. The experiment consisted in having the children write compositions in connection with regular school work answering the question: What person of whom you have ever

heard or read would you like to resemble? Why? This proved a good working experiment, and so a sufficient number of papers was collected and worked up, and the results were printed in the *Popular Science Monthly, Vol. LIII., p.* 92, *May,* 1898, under the title *A Study of Children's Ideals.* The study still remains the best on the subject.

In 1898, the writer of this paper, with the help of the British Child Study Association, gathered 2,100 papers in London on the test: What person of whom you have ever heard or read would you most wish to be like? Why? The results were presented before the Association and afterwards expanded and printed under the title *Children's Ideals,* in the *Pedagogical Seminary, Vol. VII., p.* 3, *April,* 1900. This is one of the first papers in which a comparison is attempted between the children of two countries on other than a physical measurement basis.

In 1899, the Edinburgh Branch of the British Association for Child Study worked over 2,500 papers, using Mrs. Dyke's question. The results were presented before the Branch, December 13, 1899, by A. Young, Esq., and a brief account was printed in the *Practical Teacher,* London. The study was carefully carried out, and the results showed that the Scotch children were more advanced in the lines of growth that the study illustrates, than were either the American or the English Board school children. The study deserves a larger audience.

In 1899 Miss Catherine I. Dodd, of Owen's Day Training College, Manchester, gathered papers from 591 children on the questions: Which would you rather be when you grow up, a man or a woman, and why? What man or woman of whom you have ever heard would you most wish to be, and why? She published her results in the *National Review, Vol. XXIV., p.* 875, *February,* 1900, under the title *School Children's Ideals.* The returns were worked up to make a popular article, and great emphasis was laid upon peculiar or picturesque answers; while the generalizations which might have been drawn from a sober and careful analysis of the papers were lost. The article in no way helps toward a solution of the educational problems that gather about ideals.

In the *Pedagogical Seminary, Vol. VIII., p.* 482, *Dec.,* 1891, Miss Adelaide E. Wyckoff has a study called *Children's Ideals* in which returns from "more than a thousand children" are presented. The compositions were written on the question: What would you like to be when you grow up? Why? and the paper, as here printed, was read before the National Educational Association in 1894. The answers deal entirely with occupations, and the study belongs with those already made on vocational interests, rather than with those described above.

In the past we have made the mistake of feeling that a study on a group of children once made was completed. Instead, our best studies must be repeated over and over again hundreds of times. The science of botany was not built up by studying the flora of one vicinity once, but the same study had to be repeated in all parts of the world. Only when such studies had been repeated many times, did it become possible to rise to the larger generalizations concerning the geographical distribution of plants, and the effects of climate, soil, and moisture upon their growth. In child study, each good experiment, carefully repeated, will help to broaden and perfect the original conclusions; and it will help build up data for sound generalizations as to the effects of race, institutions, beliefs and educational practices. This series of papers on ideals is projected in the hope that many parents or teachers, singly, or in groups, will take up the study, gather papers and work them along month by month, comparing results with those reached here and those already printed. It could be made the basis of the work of a small educational club or committee of a club; and the results would make a valuable paper for the meeting of a teachers' or parents' association, institute, or convention. At the least, such a local study would give those who pursued it an opportunity to judge fairly of the value to themselves of this kind of work. The next paper in this series will deal with the problem of gathering data.

HOW WORDS GET CONTENT.[1]

Those who have not made a study of a child's ideas are inclined to take it for granted that he gets an idea as he gets a flower, by taking possession of it, and that it passes into the mind complete, and like the idea held by any other mind. Nothing could be further from the facts than such a view. The studies already published show how very fragmentary and incomplete ideas may be, even when we think the children have understood and assimilated them. Thus in Dr. Hall's study, he found that 26 per cent. of the kindergarten children in his Boston experiments had never seen an ant; 62 per cent. had never seen a snail; 14 per cent. had never seen a hen; and 10 per cent. had never seen a cow. Even where the child had ideas of these common objects, a sympathetic talk with an intelligent teacher showed how grossly inadequate his content might be.

The German studies which preceded Dr. Hall's show the same incomplete and inaccurate content for common terms; and Olsen's later study in Denmark gives exactly the same results. Thus Olsen found that with the Public School children of the earlier ages, 100 per cent. of the boys and 100 per cent. of the girls had a good working content for the word ball; but only 30 per cent. of the boys and 46 per cent. of the girls had a good content for the word dew; and only 54 per cent. of the boys and 39 per cent. of the girls had a fair content for the word hotel. These studies serve to show how large a part of a child's working vocabulary is gained without immediate experience of the things which the words signify. The content for such terms must be built up from odds and ends of experience, from pictures, and from fragments found lying about in the mind. If children were constructed like magic lanterns, it would be most instructive

[1] The best study so far made on this subject is Dr. G. Stanley Hall's *Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School.* In *Princeton Review*, May, 1883, vol. x, pp 306–325. Reprinted in the *Pedagogical Review*, June, 1891, vol. i, pp. 139–172; and as a booklet, by E. L. Kellogg & Co., New York, 1893. This study was made on young children and rests on an older Berlin study, *Vorstellungskreis der Berliner Kinder beim Eintritt in die Schule.* In Berlin *Städtisches Jahrbuch*, 1870, pp. 59–77. The same study has recently been repeated in Denmark by J. Olsen, *Children's Ideas.* In the *Paidologist:* the Organ of the British Child-Study Association. Nov., 1900, vol. ii, pp. 128–131.

to seat a dozen of them before a large screen and study the widely different pictures they projected as we related a simple story in which the terms used were supposed to be perfectly familiar to them.

In using language, children do in a measure project their ideas, and on this account a study of children's vocabularies gives us our best knowledge as to how terms grow in their minds.

Charles Darwin says of his child: "At exactly the age of a year he made the great step of inventing a word for food, namely *mum*. . . . And now, instead of beginning to cry when he was hungry, he used this word in a demonstrative manner or as a verb, implying 'Give me food. . . .' But he also used *mum* as a substantive of wide significance; thus he called sugar *su-mum,* and, after he had learned the word black, he called licorice *black shu-mum.*"[2]

Mrs. Kathleen Moore's child at first associated "bird" with sparrows, then applied it to a cow, then to dogs, then to cats and then to any animals not flies. "Fly" was first used for fly, then for specks of dirt, then for bits of dust, then for all small insects, then for his toes, then for crumbs of bread, and then for a toad. Gradually by this process of adding, substituting and dropping he worked out a correct content for the words that he used.[3]

These cases illustrate the way in which a young child accepts, or creates, a written or spoken sign, applies it to a large group of objects having something in common, and then gradually limits it down to its proper significance.

In 1897, Mr. Stanley De Brath raised the question as to how school children get a content for the terms they use in such subjects as reading, history, and literature. In science, he said, modern teachers take the greatest pains to see that each new term employed has a full content of organized sense impression. Suppose the word "calyx" is to be used for the first time; the teacher has a flower and shows the children the calyx; if possible each child has a flower and points out the calyx; if the teacher believes in dissection, he has the child take the calyx off bit by bit and arrange it on the desk; each child draws the calyx; the

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[2] Darwin, Charles. *Biographical Sketch of an Infant.* In *Mind,* July, 1877, vol. II, p. 292.

[3] Moore, Kathleen Carter. *The Mental Development of a Child.* Monograph Supplement to the *Psychological Review* Oct., 1896.

name is written on the board and copied by all. After that, various forms of the calyx are brought before the children, and a general definition is built up, resting on careful observation, comparison and generalization. Now, how about words in reading, history and literature; in the humanities for short? Mr. De Brath held that most such words have no adequate working content in children's minds; that at most the teacher develops the word, which means that he gathers up vague and tattered fragments in the children's minds and pieces them together into what is often a caricature of the real thing. Suppose, he said, that the teacher in science were to "develop" the term "calyx" or "insect." Everyone would consider it absurd teaching.[4]

To one who had just been spending some years in California, where school children are educated on a literature born out of New England conditions, and where children who never saw snow are prepared for the high-school examinations on Whittier's *Snow Bound,* the criticism seemed reasonable. The first thing, however, was to devise a method for testing the content that children of the school age have for a set of representative words. Diagnosis is the first thing in sound medicine; and it ought to be the first thing in sound education.

The method devised consisted in putting before children in the schools, as an ordinary written exercise, a set of representative words. For our purpose, we chose monk, peasant, emperor, armor, nation and school, and asked the children to write down what they meant by these words. The first five were selected to represent the historical group of the humanities; they are within the comprehension of eight-year-old children, and are not silly for children of fourteen; and they are fairly representative of the vocabularies constantly appearing in all kinds of school work after a child is eight.

Most of the objections that are raised to this test will gather around the fact that we are using definitions. One critic will say that a complete definition is very difficult to form even for an adult, and that the child, having the added difficulties of not having mastered writing, spelling, capitalization and punctuation, will give us only a part of the knowledge he really possesses. Further, it will be said that the making of definitions being a part

[4] De Brath, Stanley. *The Foundations of Success.* London, 1897.

of regular school work, the answers will be perfunctory, and their content will depend on what the class has been taught about the word in question. Thus we shall be dealing with accidents.

It was to test the value of these criticisms that we added the word school to our list; and by putting it at the end we gave it the most difficult place in the test. School was known to every child examined because all the papers were written in schools. The word is as difficult to define as any in the list. A school is an institution, devoted to rather abstract activity.

Let us examine the results reached with this word, as they may settle some of the criticisms that are sure to arise. We had papers written by 1,200 London Board School children. While the definitions take many forms, they all fall clearly into four groups. Some children leave the word unanswered, possibly because being last they did not have time for it. Others give incomplete answers, saying it means children, or it means to teach or learn. A third group say it means a building or place; and these answers agree with common usage, for we often say: "The school is on Main Street," speaking only of the building, as we speak of a church. The answers of the fourth group say that a school is children learning, or a place of learning; and for the purposes of this study, we have counted these answers as correct. They take many forms as: "It is where we learn;" "a place where children are taught;" "a building where boys study;" but there is no doubt as to the content and consequent classification. On this basis of analysis the papers show correct answers as follows:

Age	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	62%	70%	80%	94%	95%	95%

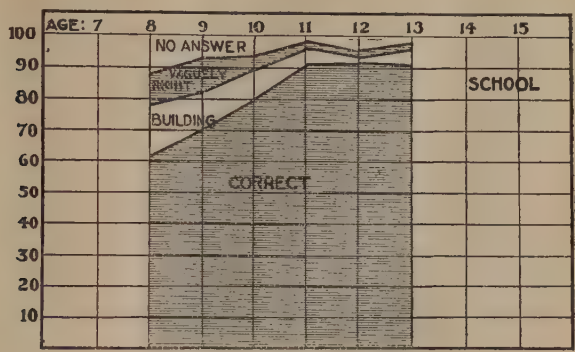
Counting the statement that a school is a building, as correct the percentages rise to:

Age	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	78%	83%	90%	98%	96%	97%

Adding still further those who say a school is a group of children, or that it means learning, so as to bring together all who are wholly or partly right, we have:

Age	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	88%	93%	95%	99%	97%	98%

No child has an answer that is entirely wrong; and the remainder of the children do not answer at all. The following chart shows the results in a convenient form:



This chart shows that with a simple test, involving very little writing, while the younger children are some of them troubled, the great majority under eleven, and nearly all after that age, can express themselves when they have an adequate content for the word in question. If we could look directly into the children's minds without the intervening medium of writing it would be better, but we cannot. All science has similar difficulties. The physician would prefer to look into his patient's stomach, but instead he must make his diagnosis after looking at the tongue and testing the temperature.

Let us next make a detailed study of the word armor, to see what it can show us as to the way content grows into a humanistic term in children's minds. The 1,500 papers used were gathered, in 1899, from representative Boston schools, through the kindness of Principal W. C. Boyden of the Boston Normal School and his teachers.

Not many of the children in American schools have ever seen armor, and yet there would be few if any children nine years old who would not have met the word in reading; and nearly all must have had pictures before them in which armor was represented. It is a concrete and picturesque thing, with a special interest for children; it can be easily described and easily taught through pictures; and since children's knowledge of it

would not be apt to come through everyday life, it is a good word with which to test the way in which formal education gives content to words.

In analyzing the children's answers, we find they fall into two groups, those showing a negative content and those showing a positive content. Those showing negative content are blank, or else are absolutely wrong; those having a positive content are more or less vaguely right, or they rise to correct knowledge and declare that armor is something worn, generally made of metal, and intended for protection.

The papers that came back blank, or simply inscribed "I do not know," represent the children who have no available content for the word. Twenty-three per cent. of the papers, 19 per cent. of the boys' papers and 27 per cent. of the girls', are in the "no answer" group. Armor is a boy's term and the boys know more about it, age for age, than the girls do. Arranged by ages, the proportion of those who have no knowledge which we can reach by this test runs:

Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys .	—	34%	21%	18%	11%	12%	14%	11%
Girls .	40%	31%	38%	27%	34%	16%	23%	21%

Thus we see that the number of those who have no content for the word vanishes with a fair degree of steadiness as the children grow older; but at fourteen there are still 21 per cent. of the girls who have no content for the word.

By a wrong answer, for the purposes of this study, we mean one absolutely wrong, into which no correct element enters; an incomplete answer is not counted wrong; neither is one that contains error, if it contains any germ of truth. One-fifth of the girls and one-third of the boys at eight years old have a wrong content for armor; but by the time the children are fourteen only two in one hundred have a wrong content. The proportions for the years are:

Ages :	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys .	—	34%	15%	12%	6%	4%	2%	2%
Girls .	28%	18%	18%	17%	5%	7%	2%	2%

A study of these absolutely wrong answers is in many ways instructive. One group is evidently derived from euphonic

analogy. Thus "Armor is to hold a thing by your arm;" "means your arm more;" "armor is arm;" "title given to Arabic rulers" [Ameer]; "is a river" [Amoor]; "man that tends an armery;" "an ancor;" "a man that plays the ogan." One cannot be positive that he has rightly interpreted the child's meaning in these cases, but the errors are evidently due to euphonic analogy. Note that the word misapplied is very often misspelled: "ancor," "ogan," "armery." The hazy sense of the true form of the word leads easily to such substitution.

In America several of these mistakes come through association with the armories so common in our larger towns and so often used for public meetings. Thus we have several who say: "armor is music;" "a place where you see pickers;" "a safe place;" "a kind of band;" "where men work." The well-known Chicago meat packing house leads several to say: "It is a man's name;" "a company that packs;" "a kind of beef;" "a beef company."

A considerable group of mistakes seems due to a dim association of the word with stories of heroes, where the qualities of the wearer have passed over to the armor. Thus the papers say: "armor is brave;" "strong;" "a brave sailor;" "strength;" "protector;" "a true man;" "a prince that takes care of a nation;" "a ruler;" "a defender;" "a knight."

The idea that it is some sort of clothing is very common. About 5 per cent. give this meaning alone. It takes many forms: "a plain suit;" "a sort of badge;" "a grand dress;" "a belt that a soldier wears;" "some kind of uniform;" "a kind of sparkling ornament that shines like gold." It may be said that it is unwise to class these last two groups as entirely wrong since they contain some rudimentary truth. They are certainly on the dividing line, and they might be put either with the vaguely right or with the wrong answers.

Many of the mistakes seem merest guesses, though probably in most cases there is some hidden association, could we but travel back through the mind that produced the error. Some of these mistakes are: "a guide;" "to be happy;" "a place;" "name of a people;" "a game;" "night and day;" "a thing;" "people who read the Bible;" "a nice outing;" "a nut;" "place where a ship lands at;" "a bad person;" "place where a man can rest when on a long journey;" "a mouse;" "a hammer;" "a kind of a machine;"

"a republic;" "some kind of candy;" "an ant's home;" "a kind of sausage;" "an oshon;" "an owl;" "a state;" "a large horse;" "a ray of light;" "a kind of bone;" "ruin;" "a man who travels;" "a swell;" "it belongs to the hoss bittle;" "it is something alive;" "it is a small piece of corn or wheat;" "a pope;" "something alone;" "a boy or girl's name;" "means full;" "a state;" "a large horse;" "a high place;" "some spelling man;" "means African;" "means navy." This long and somewhat wearying list has been given to show what a wealth of mistakes association can gather around a simple word in children's minds.

The fact that at eight, twenty-five children out of a hundred give a wrong meaning to the word, while at fourteen but two in a hundred do so is not alone due to the fact that at fourteen more of the children know about armor than at eight, but it also marks a changed mental attitude; the child at eight lives in a haze of undetermined meanings, at fourteen the horizon has cleared enough so that when he does not know he does not guess.

If we next consider those definitions that have some right content, or are wholly right, we find them developing as follows:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys	—	32%	64%	70%	83%	84%	84%	87%
Girls	32%	51%	44%	56%	61%	77%	75%	77%

This is a steadily growing strand of tendency; but when we analyze the answers carefully we find that nearly half these children who are in some degree right, do not get beyond a vague association of the word armor with war, armies, soldiers or protection. The percentage of children who have some part of the content right, but have not yet a full content for the word is:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys	—	22%	36%	38%	38%	28%	31%	15%
Girls	32%	47%	33%	43%	40%	31%	31%	28%

This line is least regular in its development of any we have had, because the answers it represents are on the border of intelligence, and while some children pass each year from it to correct knowledge others crowd in from the fields of no knowledge and wrong knowledge. The content in this group grows through

every form of associated half-knowledge. We saw it beginning in attributes and clothes. In the present group of answers it is sometimes almost as vague: "When I hear the word armor I think of the soldiers," says a boy of nine. Other examples are: "It means to armor when you fight;" "an armor is a man who is armed with things;" "it is about war;" "the saddle of a horse in war to protect the body;" "I think the word armor means cartridge;" "one who uses arms when shooting;" "it means your breast;" "a kind of sheath;" "a band of steel;" "something that soldiers put their food in;" "a large army of men;" "a number of soldiers;" "a little boy who soldiers;" "a defender of blows;" "a body of iron;" "stuff that they use in battle."

From these distant wanderings in the world of the true the child comes nearer to the heart of things. "A man that has a brass plate to protect him is called an armor;" "a large sheet of steel put over the body;" "a kind of mineral which soldiers ware when they go to war;" "It is something like a shield all over you;" "it is war clothes;" "it is what you are in;" "a man with iron all over him;" "a man who puts iron all over himself as the knights did in olden times." These last answers are all very close to the truth, and some of them seem adequate. If we take as a full definition for our purpose a statement that armor is something worn for protection, the following table shows the percentages of American children at each age who have a correct content for the term:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	41 yrs.
Boys	—	10%	28%	32%	45%	56%	53%	72%
Girls	—	4%	11%	13%	21%	46%	44%	49%

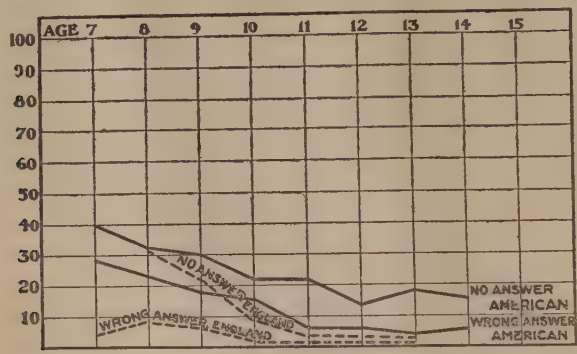
On the whole American children have a better working content for this set of words than have the children in the London Board Schools; but with the word armour the London children are decidedly better than ours. The comparison, on the four lines examined, gives the following results:

No Answers.

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
America	40%	33%	30%	23%	23%	14%	19%	16%
London	—	33%	23%	9%	1%	1%	1%	—

WRONG ANSWER.

Ages . . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
America .	28%	24%	17%	15%	6%	5%	2%	2%
London . .	—	5%	9%	7%	1%	—	1%	—

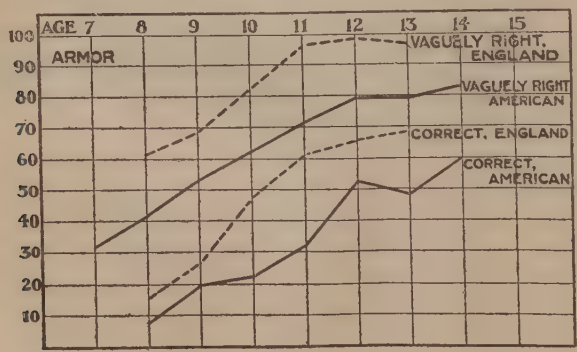


VAGUELY RIGHT.

Ages . . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
America .	32%	35%	35%	40%	39%	30%	31%	21%
London . .	—	45%	42%	35%	36%	33%	30%	—

CORRECT.

Ages . . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
America .	—	7%	20%	23%	33%	51%	48%	60%
London . .	—	16%	26%	48%	61%	64%	68%	—



The general law of development is the same in the two countries; but the London child lives in an old historic atmosphere, surrounded with museums and shop windows full of

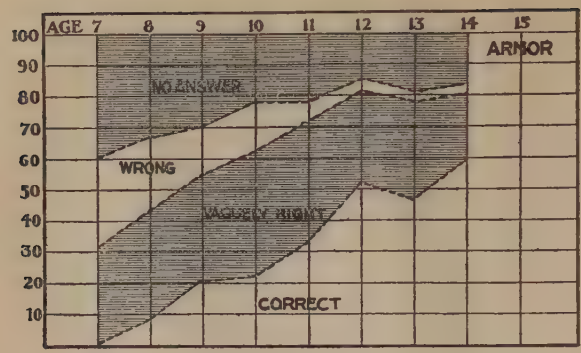
armour, and constantly seeing pictures of the national heroes in coats of mail. The comparison well illustrates the power of environment, that is of education, to hasten the growth of content. This is all that education can ever do; it can never give a full and correct English vocabulary to eight-year-old children; it can simply hasten growth. The comparison also illustrates the well-known but sometimes forgotten fact, that even in perfecting a vocabulary the school is but one of the educational influences at work on the children. A boy is being educated in language on the street or in his home as truly as when in school.

Such studies as this often throw light, incidentally, on subjects outside the immediate investigation. Thus we were interested in recording the number of writers who associated armor with past time, as it throws a little light on the rise of the historic sense and interest. The percentages for the London children run:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys	5%	6%	17%	11%	22%	24%
Girls	1%	—	6%	17%	25%	27%

The references seldom go beyond saying: "It is an iron coat worn long ago;" though a few say "worn in the time of King Alfred the Great;" "such as King David had;" or, "a steel coat used by knights of long ago." These rudimentary historic interests hardly exist with the little children, but become important after ten or eleven.

To summarize the results of our study on this word we must say: Half the eight-year-old Boston children have no content, or a wrong content, for the word armor; with advancing years fewer children have a blank place in their mind for the word; fewer have a wrong content which must be changed; while a steadily increasing number have a vague content steadily passing over into a correct content. To take a single age: At ten, 18 Boston boys out of 100 have no content for armor; 12 have a totally wrong content; 38 have a content with some right factors in it, and 32 have a right content. Two boys out of three, at ten years old, need attention when armor comes up in class; vacant ground must be planted; weeds must be worked out; and rudimentary germs must be developed and perfected. The following chart represents the distribution of these areas:



Before drawing final pedagogical conclusions let us examine another word, emperor, a little less in detail, taking in this case 1,400 children from the London Board Schools.

In describing what he means by the word emperor, there are five possibilities that lie open before the child: (1) He may give no answer. (2) He may give an absolutely wrong answer. (3) He may have in his answer only the one right factor that it is some kind of man; this may or may not be combined with error; these answers we shall call "vaguely right." (4) He may give a little fuller correct answer, in which he says that it is an important man or one who rules; these answers we shall include under the heading "ruler." (5) Lastly, he may give a correct answer in which he says that it is a man who rules a state; for the purposes of this study we shall call these answers "correct."

If we examine first those papers which give no answer we find that, as in our former study, they decrease steadily as the children grow older. The percentages for the years are:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys	41%	25%	17%	9%	11%	11%	9%
Girls	29%	35%	22%	14%	12%	15%	14%

If we next examine those papers that give an absolutely wrong answer, containing no right element, we find a disappearing quantity representing about the same proportion, age for age, that we had with "armor":

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys	25%	13%	10%	7%	3%	1%	2%
Girls	29%	12%	17%	6%	5%	4%	1%

The word emperor does not lend itself easily to euphonic analogy, and yet there are a good many answers which seem due to similarity in sound. Thus the answer "a country" is doubtless due to a confusion with empire; "a music hall" and "a singer" obviously confuse the word with the Empire Music Hall, a well-known London resort; "a green stone" may come from emerald; "a man who puts pipes in the house" may be plumber; "what we sharpen needles in" may be emery paper. Of more doubtful origin are, " a man who writes books" and "one who remembers things." Of course, many of these wrong answers are merest guesses, such as: "an animal" and "a bird."

If we turn now to the answers that have some element of truth in them, we find that the first to appear is a feeling that an emperor is a man. "It is a good man;" "a man who believes in an evil mans talk;" "a bad tempered boy;" "a number of people;" "a porter;" "some one who goes to church;" "a school master;" "a man who has travelled;" "a high priest;" "a man dressed odd;" "a man who works." These numbers decrease with years as follows:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys	17%	30%	25%	10%	3%	3%	2%
Girls	28%	26%	17%	18%	13%	14%	8%

Even with the younger children there is a growing sense that "an emperor is important." They say "it means high;" "a great large man;" "a well educated man;" "a rich man;" "a head one of a large factory;" "a wealthy man of high rank;" "one of the great men of England;" "the next one to the Queen."

From the first there is a sense that the man is in some way connected with soldiers, armies and war. "It is a man who conquers a country;" "it means an army;" "a soldier;" "a lot of soldiers;" "a person who lives near the battle in South Afraccar." By nine, the mass of the children begin to vaguely connect an emperor with government. "An emperor belongs to a city;" "emperor means government;" "an emperor is emperor of the United States." All this is very indeterminate, but it is the misty beginning out of which more definite ideas will form. A little later, the children realize that the emperor is a ruler; but they have not yet realized that he is the head of a state. We

find them saying that he is "a person who leads the people;" "a man who makes rules;" "something like a king." This group of answers, which recognizes in the word emperor not only man, but a ruling man, is distributed as follows:

Ages . . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	13%	11%	14%	16%	23%	23%	13%
Girls . .	13%	16%	32%	20%	22%	17%	11%

Last of all, develops the sense that the word emperor is applied only to the supreme head of the state. "It is one who runs a country;" "one who makes laws for a country;" "a ruler of a state." The line of growth is:

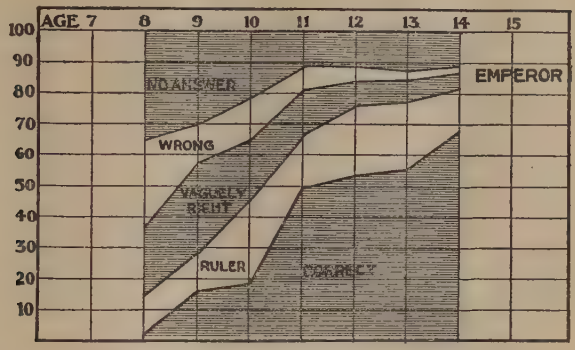
Ages . . .	8 yrs	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	3%	21%	34%	58%	60%	62%	74%
Girls . .	3%	11%	22%	42%	48%	50%	65%

The emperors most commonly named are those of Germany and China. A girl of ten gives a delightfully British conception of an emperor: "It is a nephew belonging to the Queen."

If now we gather up the results of this study on the word emperor, we find that at eight years two-thirds of the children have no content which they can write down for the word, or else they have an absolutely wrong one; by fourteen the wrong content has disappeared and 90 per cent. of the answers have some sort of right content. We find that this right content has grown in steadily year by year, and that the growth has been from a vague, undifferentiated sense of man, through some sort of ruling, to the supreme head of the state. When the children leave school, two-thirds of them have a good working content for the word. Later they will find that even this is not correct, because not all rulers of states are emperors. It would puzzle the best of scholars to tell why William of Germany is emperor, and Edward of England is only king, except in his relation to India. The chart on page 57 illustrates the distribution of these areas of content:

The results of the studies on "peasant," "monk" and "nation" agree very closely with those on "armor" and "emperor," both as to lines of growth and as to the amount of content available at the successive ages. On the whole, children from the London

Board Schools have not so good a working content for these words as our Boston children have, but the lines are always parallel and generally pretty close together.



If we come now to the application of this study to educational practice our first question is: Granting that our words are fairly typical, is the result of our diagnosis satisfactory? Have the children as much good content and as little bad content, age for age, as we had a right to expect? Such questions cannot be safely answered from any one or two investigations. It is only by duplicating such work in schools where the most competent opinion considers the conditions most perfect, that we shall be able to say what rate of growth we have a right to expect in any particular group of children. The perfected thermometer had little immediate use in medicine until the normal temperature of the body was established; but it was through the use of the thermometer that the normal was established. Each of these studies will help to establish a normal standard of growth for children's minds, and then each new study will be available for diagnosis.

The other important educational question, as to how we can hasten and strengthen growth in the mastery of humanistic terms, receives a good deal of light from this study. The content for all words must, in the last analysis, be built up from daily observation and experience. "Emperor" must depend for its content on experience with father, teacher and policemen, on having controlled others and on those journeys from which ideas of empire can be constructed. The teachers of language always tend to

lose the spirit through emphasis on the letter. Notwithstanding the long line of reformers who since the Renaissance have called us back from words to realities, it still remains true that in elementary education we are often in the midst of a dead humanism. This cannot be corrected by adding natural sciences to the humanities. Children who have eyes but see not, must be trained to see, not only birds and flowers, but the facts of human life as well.

The second greatest source of content for humanistic terms is doubtless the vague general feeling built up from the connections of the words as they are met in reading and conversation. This vague sense of meaning is illustrated in such statements as: "a monk is an old man;" "monk means cruel;" "monk is a rank;" "people that used to live in Spain." Generous reading and a home life where conversation is varied and intelligent will not only give content to vocabulary, but it will constantly tend toward exactness of definition.

This effect of the home is well illustrated by a comparative study made by Miss Dismorr on London Board School children and on children from English Secondary Schools. The former represent the homes of laborers, artisans and small shop keepers; the latter represent middle class homes. With a word like "peasant," we find the following differences:

WRONG CONTENT.

Age	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Board School	36%	59%	50%	15%	17%	9%
Secondary	22%	17%	8%	20%	13%	2%

CORRECT CONTENT.

Age	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Board School	6%	2%	8%	20%	20%	20%
Secondary	26%	31%	41%	21%	35%	43%

Much of this field lies outside the teacher's direct control; but she can encourage generous reading; and she can herself be generous in judging children who come from homes that have a starved culture atmosphere.

Stories and pictures are especially valuable as sources of content for such terms as we are examining. Such answers as the following are evidently drawn from some particular story: "When a man has done wrong he has to go to the emperor who will say

how long they are to be in prison for doing wrong;" "when the Queen sometimes goes to a ball the emperor goes with her;" "a monk is a man who lives in Canabury;" "a rude person;" "a person that makes high merriment;" "a man who lives in the Alps and sends trained dogs out to find people who are lost in the snow." Three out of a hundred of the London papers give this particular instance drawn from a story in their readers, and it is very often given in the American papers. It would certainly be possible to collect short stories, full of concrete detail and local color to give children content for a selected list of new words that arise in a reading lesson. It is suggestive of the small part which pictures have evidently played in furnishing content for a word, that in describing "monk" only 7 out of 965 London children refer in any way to the appearance of the monk; of these, one mentions his short hair and six speak of cloaks. We are coming increasingly to use the universal language of pictures in school, though we still lag behind the press and the lecture platform, but we have not fully recognized the need for training in this field. Hanging a picture before children is like standing a plant before them; it will attract attention, but the children need the same careful training in intelligent observation, comparison, generalization and inference with the one as with the other.

Euphonic analogy is probably responsible for many close approximations to truth; it is certainly responsible for many errors. In defining "monk," 36 out of 200 children in Mankato, Minn., said it was a little squirrel. This was confusing until one girl said, "a monk is a chipmonk," the local name of a ground squirrel common in our Eastern and Middle States. Both in England and America many children confuse "monk" and "monkey." In the English Board Schools, 25 per cent. of the children at eight say a monk is an animal or a monkey; 16 per cent. make the same mistake at nine, and 4 per cent. at ten. Similar errors are quite as common in America. With the word peasant, which in every case was written on the board, the English children gave the following proportion of answers that were evidently euphonic errors:

Age	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Bird or Animal	23%	42%	43%	15%	12%	7%
Pleasant	3%	17%	9%	0%	5%	2%
Present (not absent)	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%

This is a form of error due to a transition period when the mind is getting stored with roots and derivatives; and discrimination is not yet well developed. Euphonic drill will strengthen this sort of error and will ultimately correct it. Examiners ought to recognize mistakes of this kind as unripened truths and treat them accordingly. Meantime, it is difficult to distinguish these growing germs from the mere guesses that represent carelessness and general laziness of mind.

In the actual work of elementary schools, the good teachers seek to give content to new terms through explanations, which may take the more elaborate form of "development lessons;" and through definitions, which may pass over into dictionary work. The poor teachers depend on the context and on repetition. Explanation, or development lessons, can simply collect the scattered fragments of experience, already possessed by the child, and weave them together into new combinations through an exercise of the constructive imagination. The old normal school story of the teacher who developed "mountain" by the use of sand and pieces of board, and was then startled by the child who asked, "Miss, be they made of boards?" illustrates the limitations of this work.

Learning definitions, or dictionary work, can never give any slightest new content to the mind; it can simply re-shuffle the existing ideas. Not only does it give no new content, but it obscures the content already organized in the mind. Thus if the child knows "president" and "king," and then learns from his dictionary that "emperor is the ruler of a state," his previous notions of "president" and "king" are rendered less clear than they were before. Every child should know how to use a dictionary, but the teacher should not allow herself to think that it can furnish new material for thought. It can simply take content out of old terms and put it into new ones; and generally the product is less clear than before the transfer.

To put this in practical form we can say: All teachers of subjects in the humanistic group, and this includes all elementary subjects except natural science, should each year select from fifty to two hundred new terms connected with the subject matter of that year, and plan definitely that their children should know these terms before they leave the grade. Illustrative material

should be collected, with the same pains and care that a teacher prepares for a plant lesson. These materials should consist of pictures and carefully selected stories and incidents. They should be treated as similar material is treated in a good plant lesson. They should be carefully observed, analyzed and compared; and then the material should be combined with the experience and observation already possessed by the children. A few terms carefully worked out and added to year by year would strengthen all the rest of the vocabulary not thus carefully elaborated, and would give a foundation for good dictionary work.

In this article we have spoken only of the elementary grades; the results of the study would apply equally to the high school and to the university.

OUGHT CHILDREN TO BE PAID FOR DOMESTIC SERVICES?

By Blanche Dismorr.

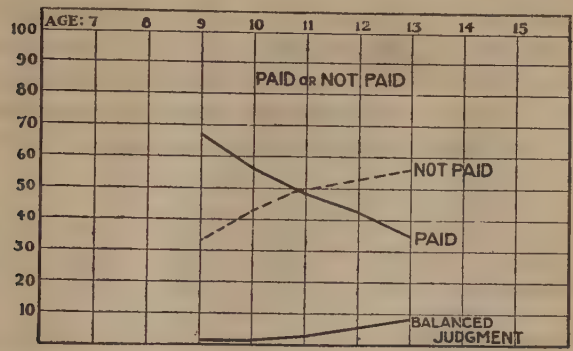
In the home the child lives, as it were in a miniature world, and through it he obtains his first idea of the social relations and responsibilities of later life. From this point of view, a study of children's own feelings toward such a subject as domestic helpfulness should be of value. It would seem that it might help us to trace the development of that family feeling in the child which tends eventually to find expression in free and loving service to parents.

This particular study was begun with the object of discovering the attitude of the child towards payment for services rendered in the home. Does he feel that his services ought to be paid for or not? Does he distinguish between work done for parents and that done for strangers? Is there any change in his ideas on the subject with increasing years? Is there any difference in the attitude of girls and boys towards this matter?

The data consist of papers written by thirteen hundred and seventy-five London Board School Children, from nine to thirteen years old, in reply to the following question suggested by Miss Alice Woods: "A child used to pick up sticks to light the fire with. Its father paid it a penny for every barrowful it brought in. Do you think it ought to have been paid for helping or not? Why?"

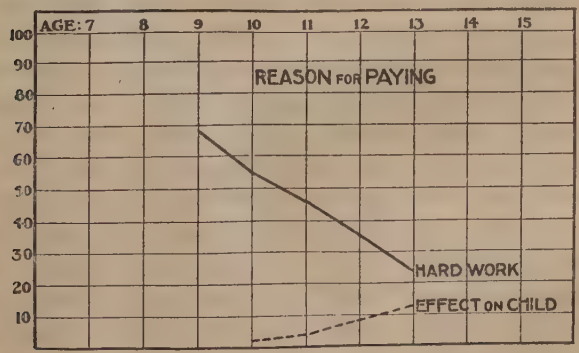
The answers to the question naturally fall into three main groups: 1. Those deciding for payment. 2. Those deciding against payment. 3. Those giving a balanced judgment. For purposes of comparison, several smaller strands of tendency have been preserved. With advancing years the number of children deciding for payment tends to diminish, while that against it increases, as does also the number of balanced judgments. The percentages run as follows:

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Paid	66%	56%	48%	42%	36%
Not paid	33%	43%	50%	54%	57%
Balanced judgment	1%	1%	2%	4%	7%



If we examine more carefully the group of children who say that the child should be paid, we find it composed of two parts, one giving as a reason the hard work done and the trouble taken by the child, and the other giving more abstract considerations as to the effect of payment on his character, saying that it will encourage him to be industrious. The number of children who think of what we may call the objective side of the problem tends to decrease; and a smaller, but gradually growing group considers it from the subjective point of view.

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Objective	66%	55%	45%	35%	23%
Subjective	0%	1%	3%	7%	13%



In the answers deciding against payment, we find the same clearly marked division into two parts. In the one case, the

reason given for the decision is the practical obligation of the child to the parents, and the number giving it increases steadily with years. The smaller strand considers the effect of payment on the child's character, and decides against it on account of the danger of its making him selfish and mercenary. The numbers run as follows:

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Objective	31%	40%	43%	45%	46%
Subjective	2%	3%	2%	9%	11%

These results show how large a share of the child's thought is claimed by the concrete and practical facts of existence; while the subjective side of life is hardly recognized till the twelfth or thirteenth year.

According to Alfred Binet, young children never reflect, but jump at once to conclusions. He seems borne out in this study by the very small number of answers giving a balanced judgment. Out of a thousand children, only thirty give qualified answers and of these only eight are from children under the age of twelve. The larger number of children giving these answers say that payment should be made only occasionally, as regular payment might cause the child to grow up mercenary and might become a tax upon the parent. Of the remainder some say that payment should depend upon the circumstances of the child; it is justifiable if the child has to get his own living or buy his own clothes. Two children, aged nine and ten, say that the child should be paid if he is young, to encourage him to work; while several children of eleven and twelve say that he should not be paid unless he is old enough to know the value of money. Still other children think that payment should depend, not upon the circumstances, but upon the disposition of the child, some saying that if he dislikes the work he should be paid to induce him to do it; while others take the opposite view, and consider that no payment should be made unless the work is done cheerfully and willingly and from disinterested motives. Some few of the older children weigh the pros and cons of the question so carefully, and find them so evenly balanced that they are unable to give a decided answer to the question. There are, however, altogether not more than thirty qualified answers in a thousand.

It is interesting in this study to examine separately the various points in the test upon which the children focus their attention. The principal centre of interest is naturally the child himself, the chief actor in the little drama; the other chief focus points are the work, the money paid, the child's position in his family, and the effect of payment upon his character.

The children who think primarily of the child say that he should be paid because he "worked for it," "earned it," "deserved it," "took trouble," "helped his parents," "was good to do it," and "gave up his time to it," or as a boy of twelve puts it, "wastes his playtime looking for the sticks."

Up to twelve, we find that the children generally read themselves into the incident and look at the matter from a personal standpoint. A child of ten says that the child should be paid "because if my father did not pay me at first I should not pick up any more;" and a girl of eleven writes "If I was to pick up sticks for my mother I should not want to be paid, because I don't think she could afford anything."

Those who assign the nature of the work done as reason for payment say that the child should receive the penny because "the work was hard" or "tiring," because "the barrow was heavy," "the sticks might be difficult to find," and "it would be cold in winter." To the younger children the tiring nature of the work most appeals as a reason for payment; while with the older children the feeling of justice comes into play, a boy of twelve remarking, "Men get paid for their work, and children ought to get paid for their work."

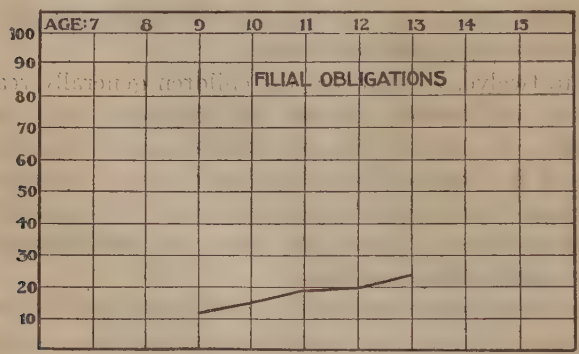
Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Work done . . .	47%	36%	28%	27%	20%

A small group of children fix their attention on the penny and say that it should not be paid because "the father might need it," or "had worked hard to get it;" or that it should be paid because the child "would like it," "would save it," and "it would teach him the value of money."

An examination of the answers deciding against payment shows that most of the children who so decide fix their attention on the child's position in the family. The larger number give the father's support of the child as the reason for their decision

and say that the child should do the work "for nothing" or "for love," showing a strong sense of filial obligation. A girl of fourteen says, "It is the child's duty to perform such services for the home of which it is a part," thus recognizing the child as a responsible member of the household.

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Filial obligation . .	14%	15%	19%	20%	24%



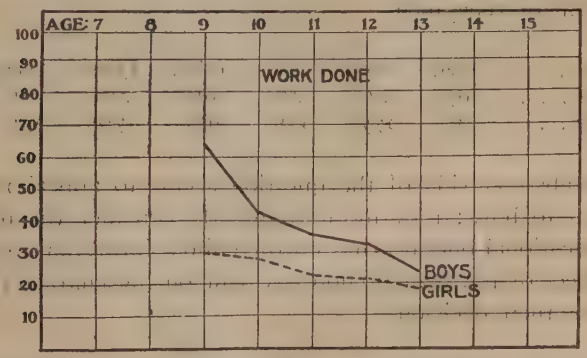
Only 4 per cent. of the children appear to realize that the child in working for his parents, is, indirectly, working for himself, as he has the benefit of the fire. A few children regard the matter from a purely unselfish point of view without any special consideration of the person helped; one child says, "It ought to be a pleasure to help others, not to do kind actions hoping you will be paid for it."

As we have seen, the effect which payment may have on the character of the child is considered by a comparatively small number of children. Some of these regard it as beneficial and say that the child should be paid to encourage him to be industrious. "Being paid," writes a girl of fifteen, "the child will be encouraged to work. He will learn the value of work while he is young." The children who consider that payment is likely to have a bad effect on the child's character think that it will make him selfish, and will encourage the expectation of reward for every service rendered. It is not until the child begins to look at the matter from an impersonal point of view that he considers the effect of

payment upon the character, and this attitude hardly comes before twelve.

A comparison of the attitudes of boys and girls towards this question of payment for home services reveals some striking but very natural differences. The reasons given by either sex for or against payment are highly characteristic; the boy takes a sturdy commonsense view of the matter, and tends to put it at once upon a business footing, while the girl, more sentimental or more altruistic, looks at it in a less practical light. In the early years, 10 per cent. more boys than girls decide for payment. Boys seem to have a keener sense of the justice of payment than girls, a keener realization of the money value of work, and possibly a less keen sense of their obligations to others. Thus, as might have been expected, in the group giving the work done as the reason for payment we find the boys outnumbering the girls.

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Average.
Boys	64%	42%	34%	33%	22%	39%
Girls	30%	29%	23%	21%	18%	24%



Boys and girls have probably very different ideas of work in the abstract. A boy looks on work as a means of gaining money. This is largely due to the fact that the funds of the family depend as a rule on the father's work, and thus the boy's simplest conception of work is of something with a distinct money value, and he does not, at first, distinguish between such services as the one in the test, and those performed for people outside the home. To the girl, work has a different meaning; and its object is, most frequently, domestic comfort. She sees her mother

working in the home without direct payment, her housekeeping is her daily life, it seems as natural to her as breathing, and has no apparent market value, at any rate in the home. From early years, the girl is herself accustomed to perform certain household duties without any idea of reward; and through example and habit unselfish work of this kind becomes a matter of course to her.

Most of the boys who decide against payment give the obligation of the child to help the father as the reason for their decision; they seem to look upon the child's work as part payment of the debt he owes his parents for his maintenance and education. Girls do not lay so much stress upon this point.

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Average.
Boys	14%	17%	26%	28%	30%	23%
Girls	14%	12%	11%	12%	16%	13%

On the other hand, more girls than boys say that the work should be done from loving and unselfish motives with no thought of payment or repayment.

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Average.
Boys	0%	4%	4%	0%	4%	2%
Girls	4%	17%	12%	16%	17%	13%

The abstract side of the question seems to appeal more to girls than to boys; they more frequently consider the question as an educational one, bearing on the child's future, and give the moral effect of payment or non-payment on his character as the reason for their decision.

Age	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Average.
Boys	0%	2%	1%	4%	10%	3%
Girls	4%	4%	8%	26%	37%	24%

The fact that the child has the benefit of the fire is mentioned by 6 per cent. of the boys and by 2 per cent. of the girls. We notice that girls, especially little girls, associate work of this nature with physical fatigue. Of twenty children giving the tiring nature of the work as a reason for payment, eighteen are girls and the larger number are under twelve years of age.

Before proceeding to sum up the results of this study it may be well to consider one objection to which this test is open. Some critics fear it will lead children to pass judgment upon the acts of parents. In the hands of a wise teacher it should, however, prove a wholesome and stimulating moral exercise, and should lead the children who write upon it to realize, on the one hand, the value of honest work, on the other, their duty to their parents.

There are also two difficulties in interpreting the data of this study which may detract a little from its value. In the first place, the alternatives are so evenly divided that even an intelligent adult may well hesitate in answering it, and this deprives us of a standard of correction against which to measure the children's variations. In the second place, children of nine or ten, as we have seen, commonly identify themselves with the child in the test; while after that age the kind of work and the smallness of the sum paid makes them consider the child a small one who is to be patronized, and thus the answers, coming from two different points of view, make a break in each strand of tendency. Nevertheless, the lines of growth indicated in this study are so regular that we must consider them as showing tendencies.

This study seems to justify the conclusion that the young child looks upon reward as his due for service rendered of any kind, and does not discriminate between work done for parents and for strangers. As he grows older, he begins to perceive the difference between his relation to his family and to the outside world, to recognize and appreciate the love and care which have been bestowed upon him in the home, and to contrast them with the indifference he meets outside it. He begins to reflect and realizes something of his obligations, privileges and responsibilities as a member of a family; and this realization, combining with the love he feels towards his parents, leads him to give his services freely and willingly. This attitude is, however, usually accompanied by a very clear idea of the money value of work, and the child would expect payment from strangers for such work as he does for nothing in the home. Thus we find that the results obtained from this test give no uncertain replies to the questions presented at the commencement of this study, but its chief interest lies in the light which it throws on the development of the feeling of obligation to the family in the child, his increasing willingness

to work for his parents being merely the practical expression of his growing sense of love and duty.

Does this study give any hints which may enable us to assist the development of these feelings in the child? The results seem to suggest that it is quite justifiable to reward a young child for service rendered in the home; but that this reward should only be given occasionally. With advancing years, an increased sense of duty comes into play, and direct payment should not then be made as it might tend to repress this sense and be harmful to the child's moral nature. Gratitude, in the case of boys, and love, in the case of girls, should supply the proper incentive and this study seems to show that, after eleven or twelve, a considerable proportion of children are prepared to respond if we appeal to these motives.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. II.

Poetic Feeling.

"The lilies and the lamps are lighted
And the moon and stars are shining,
And the leaves are falling down,
And the wind is blowing, O so hard.
The flowers love the dew.
The flowers love the wet.
All the pepper flowers are blowing hard,
And all the lilies are blowing hard,
And the dew is wet."

—*Chanted by a girl, four and a half years old, looking out into a garden of calla lilies in the early evening.*

"All the trees are shining
And the morning is sitting on the sky,
And the dew is coming, is coming,
And the rain is falling
Where the sun is gone."

—*By the same child, on a rainy morning.*

"The beautiful trees are here,
And the Christmas is everywhere,
And the birthday will come again.
Father, mother and baby saucepan."

—*By the same child.*

"In the dark night when all are asleep
And when you come to the forest deep,
The bushes and trees all look so tall
They seem to want to crush you all."

—*By a girl of seven and a half years old. From "Impressions Quarterly," San Francisco, March,* 1902.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

A child lives in a world of broken impressions and impulses. He has small attention and less will, and he is turned hither and yon by all the sensations that come to him from outside. These sensations constantly arouse the mass of recorded past impressions with which memory is stored, and these being slightly related in organized sequences of thought, fall into all kinds of kaleidoscopic combinations. At the same time, these combinations are seldom entirely the result of accident; if they were and the child talked, we should have mere babble. But organization begins from the first in the infant's mind; some ideas become associated along lines of real relations; so that when a child has acquired a vocabulary and lets his passing fancies find expression in words we have a flood of shifting but associated imagery. Some of these associations are mere accidents; some are fundamentally true; and all are fanciful.

Thus it is that nearly all parents, first or last, find their children making wise or witty remarks or indulging in poetic flights that give sign of budding genius. When these accidental combinations of wit or beauty are sorted out from the endless mass of babble and nonsense in which they were floating, and are polished and set in a row in the nursery column of a home weekly, they seem to justify us in feeling that children are the real wits and poets of the ages.

The sample poems we print this month were probably formed by the children much as they are printed here. The first three were taken down by an intelligent mother who lived much with her infant and stimulated her fancy with music and poetry. They are informed with a delicate and plaintive sympathy with nature's passing moods, which imaginative children feel and sometimes express. But these are the selected bits from endless nonsense which the child sang over in her waking hours. Her last stanza falls back into the mere jingle which we had last month.

The fourth stanza printed is very much more perfect in its composition. It formulates and expresses a single idea, instead of passing moods of feeling as in the earlier examples, and so seems rather away from a child's world. At the same time, with a world full of children, and all of them active and expressive,

it is no wonder that they sometimes produce even as good stanzas as this; and there is every reason to believe it genuine.

In going over a collection of children's poems made during the last ten years I have been greatly impressed with the fact that 95 per cent. of them belong to the type of mere rhyme discussed last month, and only about 2 per cent. rise toward the level of those printed here. Dr. Hall is right when he says that in the past we have had commonplace studies on brilliant children, and that our present need is for brilliant studies on commonplace children.

STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. II.

Children's Hieroglyphics.

When undeveloped mind expresses itself, it tends to enumerate all of its possessions. A scene in a primitive drama must take the same time that would be required for the events to transpire in actual life; the bard who sings of an early hero tries to repeat his whole life; the epic belongs to early peoples; early histories all begin with the creation of man.

As mind advances, effectiveness in expression is secured by economizing the attention of the observer or listener. Strength is thus secured for more intensive appreciation; and we even derive an added pleasure from the skill used in condensation. We admire art for the art's sake. This effective condensation is secured by grouping details, by letting a part stand for the whole, and by substituting for realistic representation, conventional signs. These signs are originally based upon some association of ideas; but after a time, they pass through so many changes in form and application that their original significance is lost and they become mere symbols.

In language, this tendency to pass from the imitation of reality to a conventional form is most marked. Early picture writing passes over by slow degrees through a hieroglyphic to our alphabet of conventionalized forms, in which the earlier pictures are lost. The Egyptian, who had signs for the consonants only, instead of drawing three symbols, themselves originally pictures, for *nefer*, the lute, drew a picture of a lute. But *nôfer*, good, would be represented by the same consonant signs as *nefer*, and so the picture of a lute came to mean good. In many cases the thing originally represented by the drawing took some other sign, and so the realistic confusion grew, but in the direction of a phonetic alphabet, and hence in the direction of symbolic clearness.

Every civilization is filled with thousands of symbols; and the child who grows up in their midst comes to understand, or at least to accept them, at their current value. When one approaches a new civilization, he always makes the mistake of read-

ing too much or too little into what he sees and hears. This is mainly due to the fact that he does not know the exchange value of the social, business, artistic and religious symbols in circulation. As mere men and women, we are much alike. We all have the same primitive hungers for food and drink, for love, worship, admiration and power. It is the difficulty in seeing these primitive realities through the symbols in current use that separates the people of different civilizations.

Much of formal education consists in teaching the on-coming generations the proper use of the current symbols. At its worst, education does little more than this; it teaches names without knowledge of the things; arithmetical processes without number-sense; maps without land or water; theologies without religion; pictures without admiration; and manners without humanity. Educational reformers often seek to put the signs entirely aside in favor of realities. Both are wrong. Life demands a content of reality; progress demands the economy gained by using symbols.

In children's drawings, so great is their tendency to use a sign rather than represent the thing itself, that one is constantly tempted to say young children draw from their own minds and not from the impressions they have just gained through the sense of sight or touch. A series of irregular marks on paper often serves to body forth a whole story as told by an infant.

In our pictures this month we have three striking illustrations of this tendency in children to pass over from pictorial representation to some form of hieroglyphics. No. 1 was drawn by a colored girl of five in a San Francisco kindergarten. The children had been given some cherry blossoms to draw. This one glanced at her flowers and then pushed them aside and proceeded to cover her paper with irregular little circles and stems. It was the sign she had seized on to represent a cherry blossom. In her haste she sometimes drew only one part, especially at the end of the paper. The picture reproduces only a fragment of her work, for she drew some fifty of her self-invented hieroglyphics. The other children in the class all tended to do the same thing, though this was the most striking instance.

No. 2 represents a man and a woman drawn by a child of four. The man was drawn on one side of the paper, which

was then turned over and the woman was drawn on the opposite side. Neither figure is a picture of any real thing; but for both man and woman the child has written the same symbol, meaning a human being. This drawing was selected from forty pictures of men and women, drawn by four-year-old children, and none of them made any difference in their representation of the sexes. It will be said that this is due to the fact that the children have been taught this sign, but the explanation is insufficient. In the first place, not all these kindergarten children would have been taught the same full-face, single-line, diagrammatic figure for man and woman, for many would have been taught at home, and by very different people; in the second place, they do not continue to use the same signs later on in life. The reason lies back of the teaching. It is the way in which content grows into a general term, as explained on page 57. It is the tendency common to all developing intelligence to substitute a shorter term for an inconvenient representation.

The third picture was drawn by a boy of nine to illustrate the story of *Hanns-Guck-in-die-Luft* in the *Struwwelpeter*. It is the story of Careless Johnny who looks at the sun instead of his path and so falls over a dog, and afterward into the river, where three fishes watch his mishap. The moon and stars have no part in the story; they are suggested by the sun. The picture is a hieroglyphic made up to stand for the story. It would require the same kind of skillful guessing to unravel it that would be required in deciphering a record painted on a buffalo skin by a Blackfoot Indian. The difference would lie in the fact that the Indian's symbols have developed slowly through many generations until each has a fixed value in the tribe, while the child's symbols have developed in a few minutes, in an individual mind, and have little permanent significance. The fact remains, however, that both are moving along the same line of growth.

Some day we shall learn how to use this beginning time when children naturally tend to develop a phonetic alphabet through picture symbols. We shall learn how to make the child's love for drawing lead directly into writing; and we shall thus bring drawing into its true place as an art of expression.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. II.

Gathering the Data.

Granting that one has found a problem worth studying and that he has devised a test which can throw light on the problem, how can he gather the necessary data? Public appeals through journals or through circulars are very ineffective. I have repeatedly asked for help, in the form of papers, through the child study journals of this country and England; and I have distributed circulars in teacher's meetings of various kinds, but have never had any considerable response to such appeals.

Through official channels one can easily collect all the papers required for a study, but he always fears that they will bear the taint of officialdom upon them. We have spent so many years in training teachers to fear the authorities; and the elementary teacher's work has been so uniformly judged by its spelling, writing, arrangement and general appearance, that it would take a very exceptional and a very brave teacher to send up to a superintendent a set of papers representing the child's uncorrected effort. Especially would this be true if the child had concentrated all his energy on the thought, and consequently neglected the form. Official action, too, compels those teachers who have no sympathy with the work, and no sense of scientific method, to gather returns and they carelessly hurry the work, or ruin it by suggestion.

Thus we are driven to personal relations as the basis on which we must rest in collecting our data. Teachers who know that a fellow student is interested in a study requiring their help, are almost always ready to aid him if he commands their sympathy and confidence. Professor James says the syllabus in child study is becoming one of the plagues of modern life; and where this is the case, we who have made the outlines are to blame. If we issue elaborate inquiries, with indefinite directions, and ill-digested tests which have not been perfected by preliminary trials; and if, after our fellow students have gathered our data, we let it go to waste or exploit it for sensational purposes, we produce reactions which extend beyond us to all who are involved in similar work. With American teachers, there is a too

ready acceptance of the belief that all new things should be tried; and that if there is not time to do them well their half-doing is better than nothing. Instead, it may be twice as bad as nothing. The teacher who encourages young students of education to gather data on child study, "to get them interested," without afterward carefully working up the material, is preparing a group of people who will always afterward have a feeling of futility and dislike in the presence of similar studies.

The best results will be reached if the children write their papers as a regular school exercise, at a period ordinarily given up to composition work. All tests should be written on the board, because the most conscientious teacher may give a feeling of her own attitude through her inflection if she reads the question. Of course there should be no discussion of any kind before the class. A child should not even be allowed to ask how to spell a word, as a single word may sometimes suggest to a class a possible line of answers. As a general thing, it will be best to treat the work as a simple composition, saying nothing of the purpose for which the papers have been gathered, either before or after they have been written.

Two objections often raised to the work at this point are that it wastes the time of the school, and arouses self-consciousness in the children. In a test that requires simply the writing of a composition, the reproducing of a story, the defining of words or the drawing of a picture, we have a piece of work which falls legitimately within the field of school exercises; and so far from wasting the time, it may be used so as to give freshness and interest to the general work of the school. There need be no objection to correcting and rewriting the exercises, if that is thought desirable for the children. The only need is that the original copy shall go to the investigator in such condition that he can distinguish the later corrections from the original copy.

A self-conscious child is a spoiled child; and such work as we are describing may arouse self-consciousness if badly done. If, however, the test is wisely selected, and if it is presented by a thoughtful teacher as a regular exercise, and if nothing is said of the object in view, it is difficult to see how self-consciousness could creep in. On the whole, the intelligent study of children tends to decrease self-consciousness, through making those who

are in charge of them more intelligent. The worst cases I have ever seen have been in families where the parents, or fond uncles and aunts, exploited the child for entertainment, and because of their own vanity. Five minutes' intelligent observation and study on the part of the elders would have led them to correct their ways and keep the child simple and unspoiled.

Under eight years old, there are few children who can write easily enough to make the composition plan a practical method for studying them. Before that, they must dictate their answers to some one. A practical method is to give out the question before an intermission and then have the children pass out slowly, each whispering his answer to the teacher who records it. After eight, the difficulties of writing, spelling, punctuation, capitalization and arrangement will certainly prevent the fullest expression that we could desire, but if the test is very simple the results will be trustworthy enough to warrant comparisons with later ages. See p. 47 of this number. In the next issue we shall discuss the value of the evidence collected through this composition method.

CHILDREN AND ANIMALS.

By Mabel A. Marsh.

The work of the educator resolves itself practically into a careful selection and arrangement of the environment of the child, and the encouragement of an appropriate reaction on the child's part.

The greatest difficulty of adult life lies in the adjusting of our relations to the human part of our environment and it is only fair to the child to give him, as far as possible, a training that may be of use to him in this direction; the social instincts need to be encouraged and the unsocial to be repressed, if the man is to grow up adequately prepared for his life-work.

Both in the school-room and in the playground we take advantage of the fact that children are gregarious animals; but, from the child's point of view, there is often still something wanting. His relations with other people are too complex, too little under his own control, too liable to sudden and unexpected developments to be quite satisfactory. It is well to begin with something simpler and easier, and this is often to be found in the relation between the child and his pet. An animal has sufficient individuality to make a charming companion and friend, without either the weakness that another child usually shows for wanting the same things at the same time, and appealing to the ordeal of combat if he is not given them, or the exasperating respect of the grown-up person for such trivial and tiresome unessentials as clean hands or untorn clothes.

From the child's pet neither rivalry nor exaction is to be feared, and it is to this comrade he often most fully opens his heart, upon him he lavishes the treasures of his affections. The pet thus becomes a most important factor in the child's development, a factor that we can not afford to leave out of account, and any reliable information on the subject is of value.

Any one setting out to deliberately use the pet as a means of developing the social instincts of the child, would naturally wish

for information on three points: First, what kind of animal should be chosen as a pet? Secondly, what reasons should determine this choice? Thirdly, what is the appropriate reaction of the child upon the pet?

In order to find out what children thought on this subject, three tests were formulated in 1899, and more than a thousand answers to each test were collected from London Board Schools, and carefully collated.

Test I. Tom's birthday was very near, when one day his uncle said to him: "I want to give you for a birthday present, any bird or animal you would like to have for a pet. Choose just whatever you like, and I will try to get it for you, to be your very own." If you had been in Tom's place, what bird or animal would you have chosen? Why?

Test II. Jack had a rabbit, a very great pet. He always fed it and cleaned its hutch himself, before breakfast. One morning he found that some one had done this for him. Do you think Jack would be pleased to be saved the trouble, or do you think he would rather have had the rabbit left alone?

Test III. Write an account of some pet you have, or have had at some time, telling:

Where you got it.

How you took care of it.

What it could do.

Why you liked it or disliked it.

The tests were given as ordinary composition lessons, and the smallness of the number of papers that came back blank, or unintelligible, proves that the children understood the questions. Only two of the papers sent in for Test I had to be set aside. One little girl of ten spent so much time in neatly copying the question, that she did not quite finish, and never began any sort of answer. A little girl of eight wished for "a duster becos it is nicse," and it was found impossible to decide whether this was more likely to be a thrush or a dormouse.

In answering Test II a few children had time for nothing but copying the question, a few suggested that it depended upon Jack's character whether he would be pleased or displeased to find his rabbit cared for; a few gave unintelligible answers such as, "I think he would like it for it would lay egg," or "I do not

think that Jack would not like it because." Twenty-four of the 1,151 papers on this test, that is about 2 per cent., could not be classified for these various reasons.

As regards Test III, one child gave no answer, two did not name their pet, and thirty-six said they had never had one, often adding what animal they would like, if they could have one. There were 1,061 papers on this test and of these only 3 per cent. were of no use.

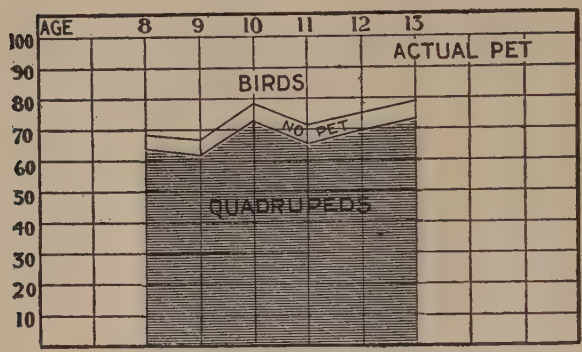
In each test a hundred boys' and a hundred girls' papers were worked up of each age from eight to thirteen, inclusive. The numbers once or twice fell short among the younger children, but these results were reduced to the basis of a hundred, so as to make as fair a comparison as possible. A few children of seven were included with those of eight, and a few of fourteen with those of thirteen.

The period of child-life from eight to fourteen is a short one for the exhibition of tendencies of development, especially when one considers that children of seven or eight capable of answering these questions in writing, must be bright and quick, while children of fourteen who are still doing ordinary class-work in London Board Schools are often rather below the average intelligence of their age.

Test I and II, Tom's hypothetical birthday present, and the rabbit supposed to belong to Jack, deal with what may be called "ideal" pets. Test III gives us data concerning "actual" pets, pets that the children writing about them have possessed. The groups of children who wrote were not quite the same for the three tests, so that comparisons of "actual" and "ideal" pets mean comparisons between somewhat different groups of children.

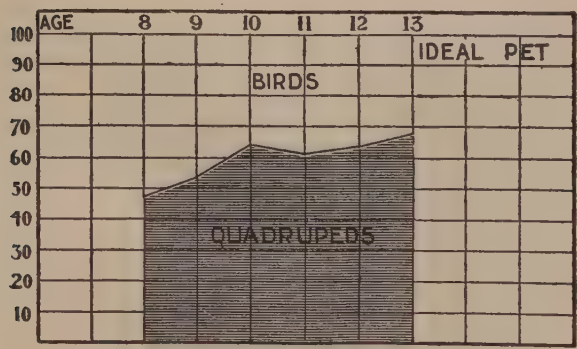
We will now see what answers these London Board School children give to our first problem, what kind of pet the child at different ages wishes to possess, and what kind of pet he actually possesses. The choice falls, first, into two large classes, birds and quadrupeds. Birds include canaries, parrots, pigeons, English song birds, with a very small sprinkling of poultry. The quadrupeds are chiefly cats and dogs, with rabbits, mice, etc., among the actual pets, and a good many horses, ponies and donkeys among the ideal pets. In the study on the actual pets, birds and quadrupeds are named in the following proportion:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Birds	31%	32%	23%	27%	26%	22%
Quadrupeds	68%	63%	73%	69%	70%	74%
No Pet	1%	5%	4%	4%	4%	4%



In the study on ideal pets the proportion runs:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Birds	52%	47%	36%	39%	37%	32%
Quadrupeds	48%	53%	64%	61%	63%	68%



It will be seen on the chart of the ideal pet, that more than half the children of eight would like a bird, but, up to ten years old, more and more children choose quadrupeds; from ten to thirteen between 30 and 40 per cent. of the children would still like a bird, but the majority wish for a quadruped. The general

tendency to increasingly choose quadrupeds is shown also on the chart of actual pets, though here it is less distinct. In looking at this chart we must bear in mind that children can only have such pets as their parents will allow them to keep. Boys who choose lions, tigers or elephants as ideal pets are not likely to find their wishes gratified while they live in ordinary London streets. If we compare some of the quadrupeds mentioned as actual and ideal pets we find interesting contrasts. Twenty per cent. of the children would like to have a horse, a pony or a donkey, but less than 1 per cent., only seven out of the whole number, have ever made a pet of one of the animals.

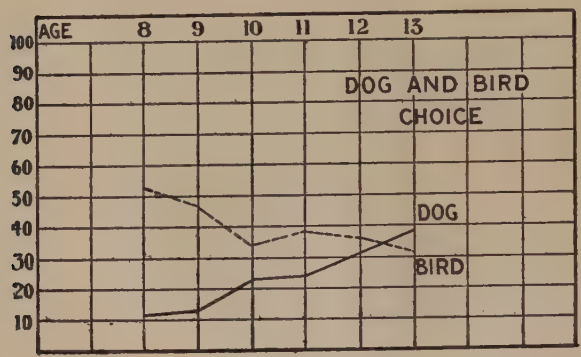
One of the cheapest and most convenient of London pets is the cat. Thirty-nine per cent. of the children have made pets of cats, and they have often been very fond of them; the cat is not strikingly popular, however, as an ideal pet, it is chosen by only 6 per cent. of the whole number. In fact the cat accounts for the difference between actual and ideal quadrupeds. Cats have very little scruple about using their claws, and many children are too much afraid of them to be very happy with them. Papers from both boys and girls of all ages, mention approvingly that their favorite cats do not scratch; and there are a fair number of children who agree with the girl of ten who says of her kitten: "I don't like him sometimes because it scratches."

Another convenient pet is the dog, and the comparison of actual and ideal in his case gives a very different result. Twenty-two per cent. of the children have made pets of dogs, 24 per cent. choose them as ideal pets.

Birds and dogs are the only two kinds of pets that have been possessed by a considerable number of children, and are popular as ideal pets; 39 per cent. choose birds as their ideal pet, and 30 per cent. describe them as actual pets.

They have then enough experience of these two animals to know what they practically amount to in a house, and this increases the significance of the variations in their choice of them. The total amount of birds chosen in the ideal test is greater than that of dogs, though both are popular, but when we come to compare the numbers of birds and of dogs chosen at different ages, it will be seen that the lines of tendency move in opposite directions.

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Birds	52%	47%	36%	39%	37%	32%
Dogs	12%	13%	23%	24%	31%	39%



The dog is increasingly valued as the child grows older, the bird loses its charm.

At eight years old thirty-eight per cent. more children choose birds than dogs, while children of thirteen choose seven per cent. more dogs than birds.

A change of this kind is exactly what we should expect to find if we are inclined to attach importance to the social aspect of pets. A dog is more of a friend and companion than a bird, his individuality is more strongly marked, his affection is more strikingly shown, he is altogether a larger factor in his master's life.

The child's relations with a bird are far simpler than with a dog. The bird can have all its wants for the day adequately supplied in ten minutes; all the attention it asks for the rest of the time is a kind word, or a whistle now and then. The dog is dependent on his master for exercise and companionship, he is always eager to be noticed, always pleased and grateful when any attention is paid him. He sins and suffers almost like a human being, and to love him may well be considered a part of a liberal education. It does not always lead on to human sympathy, but when people's sympathies never get further than animals, they may be regarded as cases of arrested development, and such cases are not at all uncommon.

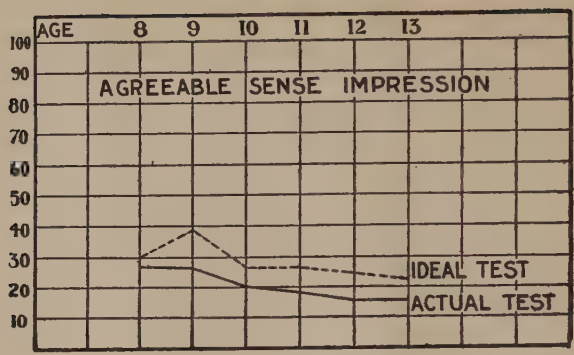
One bitter winter night, when there was snow on the ground, two men not quite sober, in charge of a couple of large hay-wagons, called at an isolated country house at about half-past eight in the evening, and asked the way to a town some seven or eight miles away. A girl of twelve was frantically anxious to have the men sent away and the horses taken from the wagons and put in the stables. It was the men's own fault that they were drunk, she persisted, and they ought to suffer, but the poor horses must be sheltered from the cold. The same child, some months later, when the difficulties connected with the negro question in America came into a History lesson, suggested quite seriously: "If they killed all the children there very soon wouldn't be so many of them, would there?"

A lady, a great advocate of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, when some one mentioned to her the sister society that protects children, said: "Oh, I don't care about the children, they are all born in sin, and deserve what they get; but it is horrid to think of *animals* being ill-used."

In the present study when we come to consider the reasons that children give for their choice of an ideal pet or for their love of an actual pet, we shall find it necessary to distinguish two different kinds of desire that pets tend to satisfy: First, the desire for the passive reception of pleasure from without, such as agreeable sense impressions, the cheerful song and pretty plumage of the bird, the soft, warm fur of the cat, or the affection shown by the animal for the child, or the interest and amusement gained from the pet's cleverness, apart from any activity on the child's part; secondly, the child's outgoing impulses of affection, etc., leading directly to pleasure in action of some kind.

The children's answers emphasize a further subdivision of the former class; pleasure from without may be due either to the satisfaction of the senses, or to the satisfaction of some emotional or intellectual desire. Pleasure due to simple sense impressions distinctly tends to decrease in importance, as a motive for either choosing or loving a pet, as the children grow older.

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Ideal Test	30%	39%	27%	27%	26%	24%
Actual Test	29%	27%	20%	18%	15%	15%



The curve is practically the same both for actual and for ideal pets, though pleasant sense impressions have more weight at all ages as a reason for choosing, than as a reason for loving the pet that the child has met face to face, with all its varied attributes.

When I first worked out this line I was both puzzled and disconcerted. It seemed to me that the early pleasure children take in agreeable sense impressions ought to pass into æsthetic appreciation, and to grow stronger not weaker. But the curve is uncompromising, and its importance is emphasized by its being repeated in two tests from rather different groups of children, writing on different aspects of the subject.

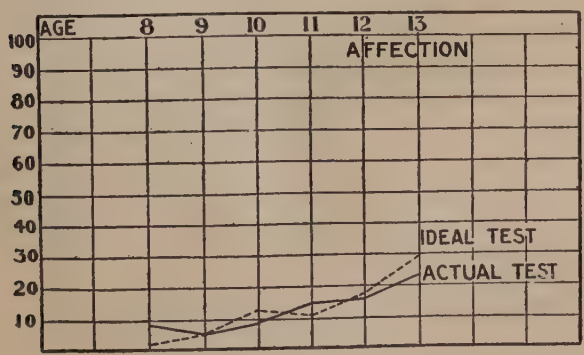
It seems to me to be chiefly a question of selective attention. A small child is attracted to a stranger because she is pretty and cheerful-looking and wears a bright dress or glittering ornaments. Older children are less influenced by such considerations.

The curve of appreciation of pleasant sense impressions is almost parallel to the line of choice of a bird. The children of eight often gave no reason, so the irregularity here is apparent rather than real. A canary is often chosen simply for the sake of its yellow feathers. A boy of nine says: "I should have chosen a robin because it sings nice and it is such a pretty colour." A girl of thirteen says: "I would have a canary. Because of its beautiful song and when I was alone I could listen to its song." Many of the younger children agree in spirit with the little girl who chose "a sprow becos it twits so pritty."

The line that corresponds most closely to the choice of the dog is undoubtedly the line that shows appreciation of affection.

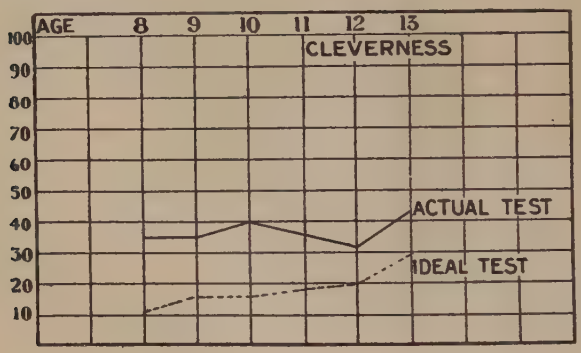
Dogs are constantly described as "loving," "faithful," or "friendly," and are valued as protectors and companions. A girl of twelve, typical of a large class, says: "If I was in tom's place I should have a dog. Because dogs are so affectionate, and are so useful, and if anybody was alone dogs are such company for people. You can teach them tricks, and as my dog saved my brother from getting run over I think I shall never be able to say any other animal is my pet. And besides that they have so much feeling if any one is ill." Here the dog is evidently regarded as a true friend and a beloved companion. A boy of eleven writes in much the same tone: "I have got a dog. And I got it at Felday. And I take great care of it, and, I take great care of him and takes great care that he does not get hurt. And it could do tricks, one trick is that he could smoke a pipe, and he will sit on his hind legs and beg, and he will lick your face with his tongue as soon has he is let loose, and you sit down in your chair, and it could jump two feet off the ground. Why I like it is because he will never bit you, only when you teases him, and will never run away from me." Many papers from both girls and boys, especially among the older children, embody the same spirit of affectionate comradeship. The number of children mentioning affection increases thus:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Ideal Test . . .	2%	5%	11%	11%	17%	30%
Actual Test . .	8%	5%	8%	14%	16%	22%



Another quality of the pet besides its affection is increasingly appreciated by the child, this is its cleverness. The proportion of children referring to it is represented by the following table and chart:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Ideal Test	10%	15%	16%	18%	20%	29%
Actual Test	35%	35%	40%	38%	31%	41%



One interesting point about these charts is that while the regard shown for affection is wonderfully equal in ideal and in actual pets, the lines being close together and intertwined, regard for cleverness is far more strongly marked when the pet is actually present than in the abstract.

When the papers were collated only such answers were counted under the heading "cleverness" as mentioned it purely as an attribute of the pet. For instance, if a cat was a favorite because it was "clever" at running after a reel tied to a string, and pulled along by the child, this was scheduled as giving opportunity for agreeable activity. An example of a cat scheduled as "clever" is given in the following story by a girl of thirteen: "At tea time when we sat down our cat got on the table and sat aside of the milk and when he saw a fly in the milk he would put his paw in and fetch it out. I liked it because it would make us larth."

The two classes of pleasure passively received by the child from his pet are thus seen to have diverse tendencies. Pleasure due simply to sense impressions tends to decrease, while the

pleasure that consists in a satisfaction of the affections and the intellect tends to increase.

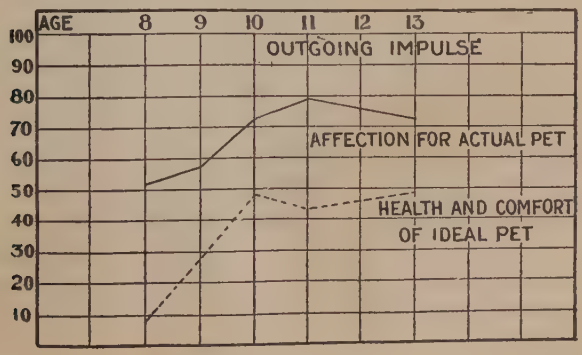
The other group of emotions, those arising from outgoing impulses of the child's nature are on the whole stronger, and have also an upward tendency.

Since the children were given a series of questions about their actual pet, they might have been expected to answer these questions in order. As a matter of fact this is seldom done. Very few papers state where the pet came from, whereas a large and increasing number of both boys and girls mention how they care for their pet, and why they like it.

Only three boys of nine and under refer to the affection of their actual pet for them, only two wish for it in their ideal pet, but their references to their own affection for their actual pet rise above 50 per cent.

It is interesting to compare with these references to the children's affection for their actual pets, the number of times that Jack's desire for the health and comfort of his rabbit is given as his reason for attending to it himself in the answers to Test II.

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Affection for Actual Pet	54%	56%	72%	79%	76%	73%
Health and Comfort of Ideal Pets	8%	27%	46%	44%	45%	49%



Besides the considerable number of children who mention the welfare of the rabbit, there are 19 per cent. who think Jack would

wish to attend to his pet himself, because then he would know that the work was well done. These are not included in this chart because the good of the rabbit did not seem to be the only consideration, though no doubt it would be involved. For instance, a boy of nine says: "Jack wished they had left his rabbit alone. Because they might have gave it something rong to eat." Several, both boys and girls, are afraid the hutch might not be cleaned thoroughly, as one girl explains, "we have a brush to do out the corners."

If satisfaction at the work being well done were added to the percentage of regard for the health and comfort of the ideal pet, these lines would run very close together; as it is, the curves are strikingly similar; both rise decidedly during the period under consideration.

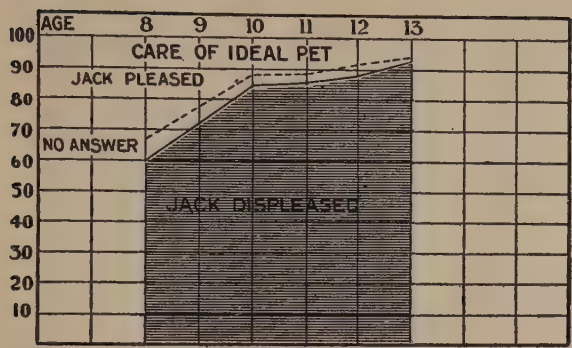
The force of the outgoing impulse of affection is further indicated by the fact that the references to the child's affection for his pet begin at a higher percentage than is ever attained by his references to his pet's affection for him.

When we look at the same question from another point of view, and consider the child's conception of his own appropriate reaction to the stimulus of the pet, we find that he is strongly and increasingly of the opinion that any one who calls an animal his own is bound to attend to its wants himself.

Jack's imaginary rabbit was cared for by some unknown person before its customary feeding time; there had been neither neglect nor grumbling, to make the little master in any way blameworthy, and, from the wording of the test, the work might fairly be assumed to have been adequately performed. Yet from the very first the majority of the children imagine Jack to have been displeased.

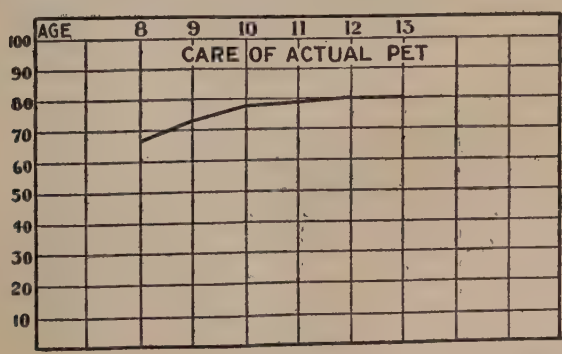
Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Jack pleased	32%	22%	12%	11%	9%	6%
Jack displeased	60%	74%	87%	88%	90%	94%
No answer	8%	4%	1%	1%	1%	0%

Of course it is not necessary to believe that every child who has a high opinion of the desirability of attending to his own pet always lives up to this ideal. If he did, the relative positions of educator and educated would need to be reversed.



The children's references to their own care of actual pets also indicate that they do show their affection for animals by trying to make them comfortable. A girl of ten says of her cat: "I fed it well and gave it milk. . . . . I was kind to it." A boy of eleven describing his actual pets says: "I had some pet rabbits. I cleaned them out every Saturday, and gave them some fresh straw and hay and gave them some bran and oats and dandilions. They could jump about the cage and play. I liked them very much." The number who mention caring for their pets increases thus:

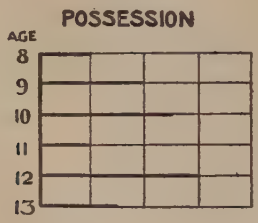
Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Care of Actual Pet .	67%	72%	78%	79%	80%	80%

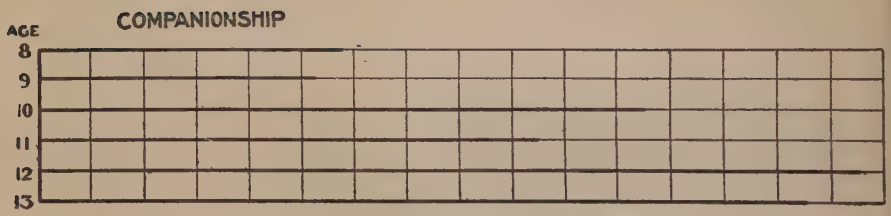


It was suggested that children wished to attend to their own pets largely because, as one girl of thirteen expressed it: "It is not nice to touch other people's things." In consequence of this sug-

gestion, spaces were left in the schedule for answers expressing a desire for the monopoly of the rabbit as a possession. Only 7 per cent. of the whole number of answers, however, came under this heading. If these answers are compared with pleasure in possession, or in companionship, in the study on the ideal pet, the following is the result:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Possession	1%	2%	3%	1%	3%	2%
Companionship	6%	6%	12%	10%	15%	15%





It is not as a piece of property that the normal child regards his pet, but as a friend.

A boy of twelve, typical of many, says: "We have a cat which the woman next door turned out. So we took it in and fed it and now it is my pet. We took care of it so that nobody could hert the poor cat. We liked it because it was playful." A girl of the same age says of her rabbit: "He love me and I love him he is a very great pet to me I loved him ever since I had him. Oh he is a dear."

With these London Board School children, at any rate, it is obvious that pets may be an important means of education.

Beginning with a pet such as the bird that gives little trouble, and has little that is unexpected in its daily behavior, and passing on to an animal that closely approaches the human type, such as the dog, the children aim first at obtaining agreeable sense impressions, and a satisfaction of their own outgoing impulses of care and affection, and develop later on appreciation of the affection their pet will give them, and an admiration for his individual cleverness.

As regards appropriate reaction, the normal child appears to be ready to take pride and pleasure in the work and the responsibility of caring for a dumb animal, and doing his best to make it happy. If he is allowed and encouraged to do so, kept up to his work by a little judicious sympathy and supervision, it will help him to habits of thoughtfulness and self-control that will be invaluable in future years, when the health and comfort of other people will depend on his doing his duty every day.

But little children cannot and ought not to be entirely responsible for any living creature. It is a great deal more trouble to see that they attend properly to their pets, than it would be to do it for them; but in the face of the strong feeling of affection and responsibility that may be called out by pets, trouble of this kind ought not to be grudged. A child with his head full of some new scheme is for the moment a complete monomaniac; left to himself, he will either forget his pet altogether, or attend to it in the most careless and slovenly way possible. It is cruel to expose him to the bitter self-reproach that will follow if he comes to realize that the poor dumb creature has suffered.

It should be stated that there is a small number of children to whom pets do not appeal, just as there are men and women who positively dislike performing little services for others. But these are not the normal type.

A girl of twelve who writes very badly and arranges her words vaguely, says: "The most pretty bird we have is the canary. We had it given to us by my uncle. We kept it in a cage in the garden and had it in at winter time. It would sing and hop. I did not like it because I had to feed it." A boy of eleven says of his cat: "I didn't take much care of it, it took more care of itself than I did. It got its own food." By far the greater number of children, however, as we have shown, care

for their actual pet, and would prefer to have their ideal pet left alone. Eighty-six per cent. of the whole number represent Jack as likely to be displeased, when he found his rabbit cared for; and some of those who think he would be pleased give excellent reasons for this opinion, quite unconnected with the saving of their own trouble. A little girl of eight, the same who chose "a duster" for her ideal pet, would be glad to find her rabbit fed and cleaned, because, as she explains: "I do no ho do it" (I don't know how to do it). Another says, "it might of been the little boy's father," who did the work for him; others suggest that Jack would be able to get to school earlier.

There is yet another strand of thought that was brought out in a very striking way in these papers. The children show a curious suspicion and distrust of the unknown person who fed Jack's rabbit for him. They do not expect him to be either capable or kindly. A little boy of eight writes, in answer to the second test: "Rather lefe it along because if I did do it myself I no that efthink right." A girl of the same age explains majestically that she alone ought to attend to her rabbit, "because I no his pecfixt" (breakfast). This attitude of dignified superiority is not uncommon; 19 per cent. of the children can be sure that the work is well done only when they have done it themselves; but many go further, and accuse the unknown helper of evil intentions. They fear lest their pet should be poisoned, ill-treated, or allowed to escape; and they expect the person who has done their work to be ignorant, or ill-natured, or both. From boys of nine, for instance, we get the following suggestions: "They might not clean it so clean has he would his self and perhaps the rabbits coat may not be clean." "Jack might think that they had hart it." "Jack would rather let it alone." "Because some one mite have took it." "I should rather have done it myself because they might have stolen it."

Twenty-three per cent. of the whole number of children express these injurious suspicions; in all ages but eight and thirteen the percentage is twenty-five or more. And yet all that is known of this person, whom they are so ready to set down as heartless or designing, is that he has attended to Jack's rabbit, in itself a kindly action.

We seem, here, to have come upon the early traces of a common human failing, one of those unsocial instincts that need

to be discouraged, the distrust of strangers that amounts to a positive disease with some people, and makes most lives less happy than they might be. There is an ethical maxim belonging particularly to the North Country, but far too popular with all English people: " 'E's a furriner, 'eave a brick at 'im."

Throughout the set of papers at present under consideration, the child shows himself increasingly eager to show affection, by means of kindly offices; but he has a grave tendency to expect the worst from other people. There must be a reason for this. It is perhaps permissible to wonder whether, in their dealings with children, some people are rather too fond of turning their rough side outwards. People sometimes positively boast that "their bark is worse than their bite," that is, they pride themselves upon constantly speaking more disagreeably than the occasion warrants. In a child, whose passionate words are not an expression of thought, but simply an outlet for strong emotion, this may be excused, but in a grown-up person who has charge of little children unnecessarily harsh words are a disastrous folly. The question is one of serious interest. Distrust is unfair and unkind both to ourselves and to others, and it is as natural and as pernicious a failing as lying. Sir Arthur Helps says, very acutely, in "Realmah": "If people would only exercise their imagination in imagining that others think as well and as kindly of them (and this is surely not a great stretch of imagination) as they do of these others, the world would be a much more comfortable place to live in. The agonies that sensitive people invent—no, absolutely create for themselves are as astounding in magnitude as they are ingenious in conception."

CHILDREN'S PETS: A SIDE STUDY.

Miss K. G. Cash.

This study grew out of the one made by Miss Marsh on Children and Animals. At one of the meetings of the British Child Study Association, where Miss Marsh's charts were used, and where she explained their meaning, it was noted that the number of children who chose a bird as a pet decreased as they grew older. It was also noted that consideration of self gave place to consideration of the animal as the age rose. I suggested that this might mean that as children grew older and became less self-centred, they realized that life in a cage was entirely opposed to the natural life of a bird; and this side study on children's attitude towards caged birds was undertaken to determine how far this suggestion was right.

The papers on which the study is based were written by London Board School children, 650 by girls and 600 by boys. The children wrote in response to the test:

Tom bought a bird and kept it in a cage and took good care of it. His sister Mary wanted him to set it free, but Tom wished to keep it. What would you have done with the bird? Why?

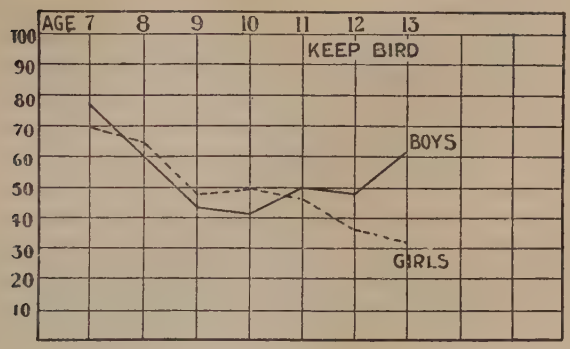
There were very few papers which were useless, and these were all written by the younger children. They were generally due to bad writing, spelling or a misunderstanding of the question, which made the meaning uncertain. The papers seemed to be very genuine. In a few cases one came across caught-up phrases such as "be kind to dumb animals"; but as a rule the papers were written very freely, and often where the child felt strongly on the subject, opinions were expressed with a delightful personal colour.

In collating the papers we had three main headings: Keep the bird; set the bird free; and compromise, which covered cases of balanced judgment. For the reasons given, we had two other main headings: Consideration of self, and consideration of bird. In order to determine (so far as we can determine anything by

one small study like this) whether there is any general tendency in the development of children's recognition of the rights of other creatures toward consideration and fair treatment, we massed together the selfish reasons and then the unselfish reasons, whether given under the head of keep the bird, set it free, or compromise.

The proportion of children who would keep the bird is:

Ages . . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys . .	76%	60%	44%	41%	50%	49%	62%
Girls . . .	70%	65%	48%	50%	48%	37%	33%



From this chart, it would seem that the boys are either more selfish or more practical than the girls between the ages of 10 and 13. It would also seem that the boys feel an increasing interest in the control and care of the bird, which apparently arises from a love of power and active doing, while the girls say less about what they could do with the bird, because of their increasing interest in its welfare.

Here are a few extracts from some of the papers of those children who would keep the bird. A girl of 9 writes: "I should have said no because I want to keep it." A boy of 7: "I should have said no I want it, my bird because I want it." Girl of 7: "I am going to keep it because I bought it, and I am not going to let it fly." It is enough to the little children that they want the bird, no other consideration seems to enter their heads. To want a

thing is sufficient reason for keeping it. The fact of having bought the bird adds somewhat to the sense of possession and strengthens the child's feeling with regard to his right to keep it.

Love for the bird is frequently given as a reason for keeping it. A boy of 8 says: "I would rather keep it because I love it so well." A boy of 10 writes: "I would have fastened the cage down so tight so that I could only open it myself. Because if I did not fasten it tight enough my sister might let it out while I am out and I should lose my pet which I have so much love for." This is the kind of love which belongs to early childhood; it is the love which makes the little child throttle his kitten while caressing it, or crush the butterfly because of his admiration for it. Love, lit by imaginative sympathy, belongs to a later period of development and implies not only a greater capacity for emotional feeling, but also a further intellectual development. A girl of 10 writes: "If I loved the bird although I should be sorry to part with it, I should, because I loved the bird and liked to see it enjoy itself out in the woods in the bright sunshine."

The commercial aspect of the problem appeals to some children. The fact of having spent money on the bird is sufficient reason for keeping it. Some refer to its value and the possibility of selling it at a profit. Others, only one or two, would keep it so that it might lay eggs for the family's breakfast, or with a view to getting "Young chickens in the future." It would be interesting to get at children's ideas with regard to waste. The children who say it would be waste of money to set the bird free do not consider the fact that paying money for the bird and then setting it free because it would be happier would not necessarily be waste.

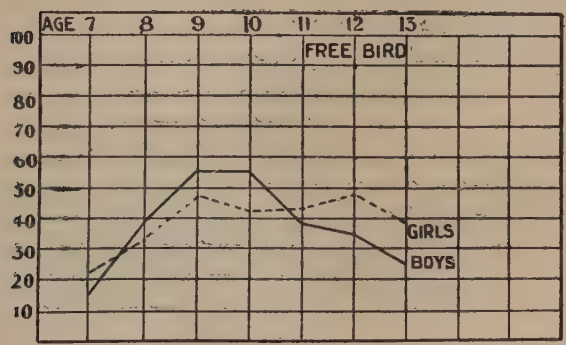
There are many delightful papers written by the children who are interested in keeping the bird because of its pretty ways and its singing and for the sake of its companionship. A girl of 8 says: "I would have kept it because I like little birds, I like to hear them sing because they sing so pretty. I like blac yellow and all kinds of sauts." A boy of 10 says: "I would look after it, give it sugar, buy it seed and give it water to drink. I would learn it to sing. I would clean its cage every morning, I would make it very clean and shining as I could, I would paint it red and make it very pretty and nice." A girl of 13 writes: "I would like

to keep it because birds are such nice little things. And it is a pleasure to feed them, and they liven up the house if it is a bird that could sing and it would amuse the baby with its singing."

Those who speak of keeping the bird because it would be better off than if set free mention as dangers, cats and dogs, boys who would stone it, hunters who would shoot it, starvation, cold and being pecked by other birds.

The children who say free the bird are represented in the following table and chart.

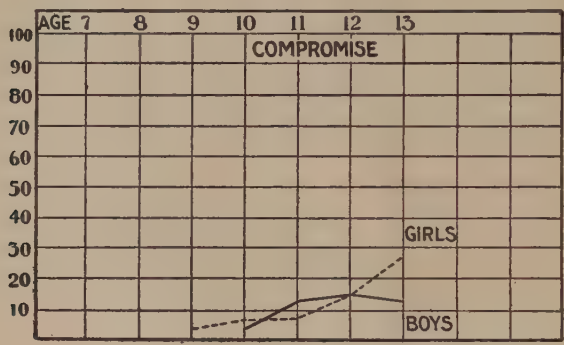
Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys	16%	36%	55%	55%	38%	36%	26%
Girls	24%	32%	48%	43%	43%	48%	39%



The lines in this chart are, of course, almost the exact converse of the lines in the chart "Keep the bird," until the children begin to find difficulties. With the girls the first drop occurs at 10 years old. It seems that about this age the children become capable of more sustained thought, and so become capable of recognizing the difficulties involved and the pros and cons with regard to each course of action. This leads to less promptitude and certainty in the answers and to the inevitable compromise which we are all forced to make directly we recognize two ways neither of which is entirely satisfactory.

It is just at the point, where this drop occurs, that the tendency to compromise begins:

Ages . . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys . . .	0%	0%	0%	4%	12%	15%	12%
Girls . . .	0%	0%	3%	6%	7%	15%	28%



As most of the children who make the compromise give reasons which are unselfish, we may conclude that had this speculation with regard to the kind of bird not arisen they would almost all have set the bird free. That would have made considerable difference in the chart "Free Bird."

The chief reasons mentioned by the children for letting the bird out of the cage are its need for and delight in freedom, its need for companionship with other birds and its general welfare in matter of food, home and fresh air. There is a small percentage of children at every age, except 7 and 8, who recognize the right of the bird to liberty. They do not speak of giving the bird its liberty as an act of charity, but because it is the only possible course of action to those who see the justice of the matter. A boy of 11 writes: "I would let it free, it is like keeping it in prison. Birds are as much right to be set free as we are. I would not like anyone to take me away and keep me in a cage. It is like a man taking a boy and keeping him in a cage . . . it is like someone taking a baby away from its mother." Girl 12: "The reason I should have set it free is because a bird or any living thing is as much right to have its freedom as we are and enjoy itself, and because even dumb animals want pleasure." Girl 13: "I should rather let the poor bird go and fly with the other birds. Because the poor bird might have died being shut up in a cage.

Men women and children dont like to be shut up in prison they have a feeling I suppose like everybody else. Well then the poor little birds have the same feeling." Another girl of 13 says: "If birds were not meant to fly and live outdoors I don't think they would have wings."

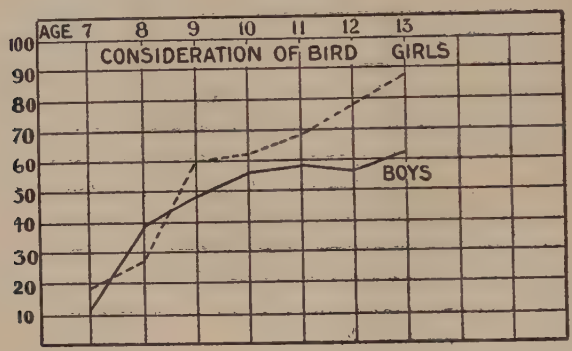
Those children who mention the bird's need of companionship generally suggest that the bird would like to fly about with other birds or that it might have young ones to care for, or a mother crying for it.

There are many other reasons given for setting the bird free. One girl says, "because boys ought always to give way to girls and do as their sisters ask them." One or two say they do not want the bird as it would cost too much to keep. A boy of 11 says: "I would have set the bird free because I might be took to prison." Some of the children, both in this group of papers and those under "Keep the bird," are so interested in what they are writing, that they seem to forget that they do not actually possess the bird, and often they carry on the story giving a sort of "happy ever after" ending.

No child suggests that birds accustomed to a cage are living an abnormal life. The fact that the bird has never known anything different is sufficient justification for keeping it there, and its submission to its circumstances sufficient evidence of its happiness. The following extracts illustrate this, and also what has been said concerning the increase of intellectual capacity. A girl of 11 writes: "If it was a cage bird, I would have kept it in a cage. But if it was a bird that lived in the trees I would have let it fly away. Because if it were a cage bird they do not seem to mind it. But a bird that lives in the trees would rather fly about." Boy 13: "If the bird had been used to liberty and freted about being kept in a cage, I should let it go, because it would not mind how kind you were to it, and would fret so much, that it would die, because it could not have its liberty. But if it was a bird that had been kept in a cage ever since it was a young one and had forgotten all about liberty and seemed happy and would sing and eat its food and not fret, I should not let it go but keep it. If you were to let some birds go it would be just like killing them because other birds would only torment it and kill it in the end."

The number of children who consider the bird's point of view increases rapidly with age:

Ages . . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys . . .	14%	38%	48%	55%	59%	57%	62%
Girls . . .	19%	27%	60%	63%	66%	79%	87%



This line of out-going impulse marks a development which is of the greatest possible importance in moral training.

There is a marked difference of development between the sexes in this study, though the general development is the same. The boys are apparently more self-centred than the girls. Whether this is to be accounted for by the inherent nature and constitution of each sex, or whether it is due to the kind of education to which each has been subjected through the centuries, it is impossible to say. It seems to me that it would be worth while to pull the boy's line up nearer to the girls; and one of the best ways to do it would be to educate boys and girls together and treat them alike in the home.

In this study the children fall into three groups:

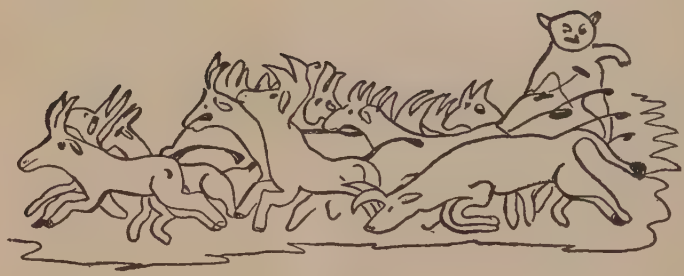
In the first, are those with whom the satisfaction of personal desire is the strongest motive for action; and action follows immediately on the desire. There is no considerable power of sustained thought, nor of altruistic feeling.

In the second group, there is evidence of an increase both in imaginative feeling and in intellectual capacity. The children have begun to consider the matter from the bird's point of view, and often they recognize some responsibility other than that of

merely "being kind" to living creatures. Like most reformers, when possessed with one idea they act accordingly, and not necessarily with worldly wisdom. There is a freshness and spontaneity about them which is often lost when it becomes tempered with worldly wisdom.

In the third group are the children who have reached that stage when they are capable of seeing both sides of the matter. They can inhibit action in order to weigh evidence, and can look forward to the possible consequence of their action. These children are not less sympathetic than those of the second group; but they are becoming worldly wise. They are learning to adapt themselves to things as they are. It is with these three periods we must deal in all moral education.

No. 1



No. 2

STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. III.

Animals.

The long fight for monotheism led the Hebrews with their theological descendants, the Mohammedans, and even the early Christians, to look with suspicion of idolatry upon pictures or images of living things. With those people of antiquity, however, whose theological beliefs did not prevent the use of animals in art, they appear constantly and early become excellent. The long-bodied Etruscan horses are no worse art than the men and women who recline upon the sarcophagi. Early Egyptian art is filled with excellent paintings of birds, fishes, and animals, which are generally less conventional than the men. The Assyrian Saloon of the British Museum is filled with bas-reliefs representing hunting scenes where lions are being caught in nets and cages, or are being killed and transported, and where antelopes and wild asses are being hunted by dogs and shot through with arrows. These alabaster carvings belong to the days of Assurbanipal, 625 B. C., but they are excellent work, full of life and spirit. In early art one always feels that the animals are better than the men.

The young child dares to draw anything, even the air or the sunlight; hence, when left quite free to choose his subject, he draws the first thing that comes into the foreground of consciousness, and animals are always roaming about there. In a study on 1,570 drawings, made by school children who had been given no direction as to subject, Mrs. Maitland found that 41 per cent. drew objects from still life, other than houses; 25 per cent. drew houses; 33 per cent. drew men and women; 27 per cent. drew plant life, and 18 per cent. drew animals.* One-fourth of the pictures by little children contained animals, but only one-tenth when they left school.

Ages	5 to 7	8 to 10	11 to 13	14 to 17
Animals drawn .	23%	21%	11%	10%

* Maitland, Louise. "What Children Draw to Please Themselves." *Inland Educator*. Sept. 1895. Vol. I, p. 87.

This decrease is probably due less to change in interest than to loss of daring; and with younger children the proportion of animal pictures would probably be still larger.

An instinctive feeling that children love to draw animals often leads the biographers of painters to tell us of the wonderful animal pictures their subjects drew when little. "One day," says Vasari, "Cimabue was going on some business from Florence to Vespignano; he came upon Giotto, who, while his sheep were grazing was drawing one of them from life with a pointed piece of stone upon a smooth surface of rock, although he had never had any master but nature." Seeing his skill, Cimabue took him away and trained him for his great work. We always feel, however, that animal drawing belongs to the period of childhood. The artist who lingers among animals for his subjects, never seems to us one of the greatest even though he have the genius of a Landseer or a Rosa Bonheur. Animals are an intermediate stage through which the child should pass on to man, as Miss Marsh shows on p. 88.

Picture No 1 in this issue was drawn by an Egyptian scribe, to represent a threshing floor where the donkeys are treading out the grain. The scribe knows the forms that are sanctioned by practice, and he has mastered the skill to draw a donkey as he wants it drawn. Had he drawn some hundreds more, as he probably did in his business, they would have been exactly like these. The making of such a donkey has become habitual to the scribe, and any action that has become habitual has ceased to be educative.

No. 2 was drawn by a boy, not quite seven years old, living on a big cattle ranch in Southern California. It was one of many illustrations in a book of adventures he wrote, and the text that accompanies the picture reads: "One day ralph went out to the barn. he hard a loud noise he ran to see what was the matter all the cows were running back ward and for ward he saw a large bear he ran to the house and told his father his father came and shot the bear."

The child had received no training whatever in drawing, and his composition shows that he had not come under the domination of formal education. And yet, or possibly because of this neglect, the herd of cattle which he knew so well on his father's

ranch is excellently expressed, full of dash, and with the characteristic movements of frightened cattle. The one behind is capital in spite of its impossible legs and position. The horns sometimes point forwards, sometimes backwards, but they are always horns. The boy did not know bears, and so he had to draw a symbol; but the cattle he knows, even to the brands on the haunches.

The making of such a picture is profoundly educative. The bringing of the scene before consciousness, with the fleeing herd and the pursuing bear, the working out of the details of horns and legs under the sustained impulse of fear require continuous integrating effort that must mean growth. All the arts of expression show us the weakness and insufficiency of our knowledge; and a picture like this compels its maker to extend his observation and perfect his skill.

The two pictures are a complete commentary on the fundamental principles of general method. In the first we see all that stultifying effect of copying, which ruined Egyptian art and which is constantly threatening every branch of formal education. In the second we feel that informing spirit which maketh alive, and which can be secured only through constant contact with the realties of life.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. III.

Adolescence.

"A Poem On a Poem.

" 'The leaves are falling, The ground is wet.'
'Twas the cry of a little child.
It's left in my heart an echo yet,
An echo so sad and so wild
That my loosed fancy struggles and flies,
Struggles and flies and in madness cries
In effort to reach the strange thought,
That the words of the child have brought to me,
Thoughts of the dread vision the child did see
Whence he would, yet would not and could not flee,
Though the vision was dearly bought.

Dearly bought at the expense of peace!
Dearly bought with a broken heart!
Of lasting horror without release
And a sorrow that shall not part
From the unhappy one it seizes
And it seizes whom it pleases.
It takes to itself only those that are
From the commoner pleasures removed far,
And who welcome it as a guiding star.

Well I know what the little one felt!
I know I feel what he did feel
How sadness into his heart did melt
How gently his heart she did seal,
Seal with the seal of the sacred thought
That came to him unknown and untaught
So sorrowfully sad, weird and sweet!

That though it will make the swift heart beat
And with mystic touch it will reach the heart,
From pain and anguish 'tis not far apart
That feeling so gentle and sweet!

Symbol of a long lost hope: the leaf!
Of tears in silence shed: the rain!
Of a silent, eating, cankerous grief!
Of a terrible gnawing pain!

For me the leaves of hope are falling!
For me the ground of love is wet!
The phantom of despair is calling!
He's never, never left me yet!
For me the air is filled with sighing.
The long departed spirits sighing
As they return and find me here.

They sigh as they see my wayward walking.
I know they do, for I hear them talking.
In the gloomy midnight, sadly talking,
For me they are ever near!

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

This "poem" was written two years ago by a boy of fifteen, after reading the first "poem" on page 71 of our last issue. His attention was accidentally called to it; and the next morning he brought these verses to his teacher.

The influence of Edgar Allen Poe is clearly visible in the poem; but the composition is the expression of the very soul of a somewhat over-wrought and sensitive lad of fifteen.

The simple rhyme of our first study has given way to the more complex rhyme of Poe's verse; and the rhythm has left the small detached phrases for a larger swinging movement that corresponds with the large vague feeling in the words.

The most marked quality of the verses is probably their egoism. It is a riot of incoherent feeling dashing against the dark and sombre Werther, who stands alone in a chaos of despair,

conscious that the eye of an admiring and envious world is upon him. Even the spirits of the night sigh and spend the gloomy midnight hours discussing him. But with all this characteristic feeling of the age of adolescence, there is a good deal of poetic feeling in the verses. The sad and dreamy words of the child have awakened in the boy a tumult of words that have a real passion behind them.

The other most marked characteristic of the verses is their sadness. It is more than sadness; it is the pain and anguish of "long lost hope," of "a silent, eating cankerous grief." This, too, is a note very true to the age. One instinctively thinks of Bryant's "Thanatopsis," written when he was seventeen, and admired and learned by all youths who have lived life fully since. It is the "Sorrows of Werther" age; and whatever you like to do with it, here it is.

Our preparatory schools wear it out against the exact and passionless demonstrations of Euclid; against carefully prepared experiments in chemistry with foreordained consequences; and translations of the stately literature of the least childlike people that ever lived. Practical life chains it to the riveting machine, to the miner's pick, or to the counting-house table in the effort to form an army that shall overpower industrial competitors. The English Public School, which detects its appearance, sends it to win victories at football and cricket, though now and then in the course of the centuries a Cowper, a Byron and a Shelley escape. And for the most part, all these are right. Most youths of fifteen had better get along to a larger self, and to a more cheerful attitude toward life; and they will do this most quickly if their energies are used up in some active sort of life so that they cannot brood.

And yet! It is sometimes said that we need more poets and artists, if only to glorify our present achievements in iron and mortar. And to get good poets and artists, as to get good captains of industry, we must have some poor ones. Certainly there are some poets in any group of fifteen-year-old boys; and it is possible that an approach to Nature along lines less cut and dried than those that appeal to examiners in Chemistry and Physics, or an approach to song and story through the easiest of tongues, and under the leadership of a man who could not fit for college, might give us more real singers and painters.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. III.

Value of the Evidence.

A stream cannot rise above its source; and the results of such a study as we are making on ideals cannot rise above the evidence in the individual papers on which it is based. What, then, is the value of this evidence? Possibly we can best answer this by considering the criticisms ordinarily passed upon it.

In the first place, it is said that since the evidence is gathered in schools, through the co-operation of teachers, we must count upon their coloring it. Teachers are used to being judged largely by their children's written work; they want a good reputation; and so they will put forward their best foot. This is in a measure true, but less so than formerly. In most American elementary schools teachers are judged from personal inspection of their rooms by superintendents, supervisors and principals, and by the children they promote; these promotions are generally made on the judgment of the class teacher. The same holds true in England under the new code. In fact, it is coming to be true that very nice written work in elementary grades is looked upon with suspicion. Besides this, the teachers of this generation have most of them been trained in science work enough so that they are prepared to realize the need of uncolored returns for such studies; and nearly all of them are deeply interested in their profession and desirous of advancing it. But even if the teacher wished to help her pupils, it is almost impossible for her to do so. The test is very simple; it is written on the board so that no inflection in reading it shall give a clue; the teacher is warned against any discussion; and if she helps ever so little, she will color the whole set of papers from her room so that an experienced eye will at once detect her influence. If the teacher, seeing some troubled little face, says: "Think of some one you know in your home," all the children catch at the suggestion and her papers have a proportion of acquaintance ideals so far beyond the normal average that she is betrayed.

In the second place, it is said that the children will fool us; that they will treat it as a joke; and that self-consciousness will make them secretive or bold. Possibly this might be true in a type of school, where certain things are recognized as belonging to the school and all else is considered out-of-place. There are such schools, but they are mainly private, and most commonly are endowed. In the ordinary state schools of America and England everything that belongs to the life of children is treated in the school. Their ambitions, hopes and fears are frequently considered, and they are encouraged to apply the lessons of biography, or the other humanistic studies, directly to themselves. What person whom you have known, or of whom you have heard or read, would you most wish to be like? does not seem a subject that sins against a healthy reticence, and children in our common schools answer it frankly, in the same spirit of helpful sympathy in which it is put. Besides this, most of the children consider the writing as a simple composition exercise and know nothing of its final object. During these past years, I have worked over a good many thousand papers, written by children in various parts of the world, and judging by internal evidence, I am convinced that 98 per cent. of the children answer the question frankly.

In the third place, it is always urged that young children have so much difficulty with writing, spelling and composition that their written answers to such a question have little value. In gathering the data for this study we have arranged to have children under eight years old dictate their answers, one at a time, to their teachers. The difficulty with children over eight we have discussed on page 47 of this volume. Difficulties do not frighten young children as they do their elders; and I am convinced that children, over eight, in our common schools, can express themselves well enough, on such a simple question as this, so that we can accept their papers as fairly representative.

The fourth criticism to consider is more difficult. It is said in connection with all child study work that what we get is an echo from the accidental environment of the child, and not his own thought. With regard to this particular study it is said that the child will give us a character due to some passing interest in a lesson in the class, or in some book read, or in the events of the day. This is in a measure true. In the winter of 1900-1901, we

worked up a set of papers on this subject in connection with a class held in the Boston Normal School, and owing to the Spanish-American War, there was a larger range of military ideals than one usually finds with American children. In London, where only 5 per cent. of the boys and 2 per cent. of the girls chose Mr. Gladstone, we found that a few days after his death, when all England was filled with his praises, a quarter of the boys chose him as their ideal, though a few weeks later the proportion sank to its normal level.

If we wished to compare one character with another, as to popularity, this would be a very serious criticism; so it would if we were studying the development of a child freed from the play of all concrete environment. But, instead, we want to understand children living under the concrete circumstances of to-day. The child we have to educate is pure child (whatever that may mean), plus all that he has felt or heard or read. He is built up of a personal nucleus around which has gathered experience from his home, the street, his reading, his associates, his Sunday-school and his common school. When the children walk into the school in the morning they are all these things, and we must work with this composite child, and hence need to understand him. Our study may not give us pure psychology nor pure sociology (whatever these terms may mean), but it gives us the human nature that walks about in our homes and in our schools; and that is what, as parents and teachers, we need to understand.

But, it will be said, these choices thus become purest accident, and lose all value as indicating tendencies. No, indeed. I may change my personal ideal a dozen times and still choose the same general type of man or woman, and this is what the children do. Miss Kate Stevens asked the children in her London school what they wanted to do in life, and after a year repeated the test with the same children. The second choice was often different from the first, but it almost always fell in the same general group. Thus a girl who had chosen to be a dressmaker might change to a milliner, but she almost never changed to a cook. In the study on ideals the choice will vary with changing public conditions; but these conditions are a part of the phenomena we want to understand, and within general groups the choice remains pretty constant.

In the last place, it will be said that the phenomenon we deal with is so complex that the variable elements of race, inheritance, religion, school and the rest cannot be separated out nor estimated, and hence the very first condition for scientific work is lacking. In reply, we can plead that the difficulty is different only in degree from that found in all studies on living things. Our phenomena are the most highly evolved in the world, and hence are most difficult and also most valuable to understand.

In the long run, the evidence must be judged by its results, and repeated studies show that an examination of papers written by children of different ages, gives lines of tendency that increase or decrease with great regularity from age to age. Where evidence is gathered from thousands of witnesses who have had no opportunity for collusion, and where it shows regular lines of tendency with advancing years, there must be some element of truth in it.

The following are typical boys' papers, selected from some thousands just received from the city of Trenton:

Six years old: "Like Prince Henry because he gets long rides on boats and cars."

Seven years: "Like my uncle who is a doctor so I can make people well."

Eight years: "Like G. Kilford because he has got two knives."

Nine years: "I have heard of a boy who is very good and kind to his mother and father. I wish I could be like him and be so good like him to my father and mother at home. And he was so good that he was made to be captain of the America army."

Ten years: "I would like to be like George Washington. He was a good President, a good soldier and a truthful man. He raised the spierets of his soldiers at Valley Forge. He takes Yorktown and finely drives the British from the country."

Eleven years: "I would like to be the great poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow whom I have read of very much. Because he wrote so many beautiful poems. I wish I could have so many beautiful thoughts in my head as Longfellow did. He wrote so many poems about the children. He was one of the greatest poets that ever lived. I wish I could live such a happy life as Longfellow did."

Twelve years: "I would like to be a man like Henry M. Stanly. Because he was an explorer of the wilds of Africa. And had lots of dangeras adventures with strange and fierce anamals. Because he was a good, healthy, strong man and very brave not afraid of being in dangeras places. And seeing many uncommon and new things."

Thirteen years: "I would like to be governor of New Jersey like Mr. Murphy. Because you can rule the hole state. No one can be any higher than governor Murphy in the State of New Jersey. If I was the governor of New Jersey I would be very kind to the poor. I would go and provide food for the poorest people in the state, to the white and the dark people. All the people that was out of work I would give them work if I could. When there are any more parades I would try to get more men than any other governor."

Fourteen years: "I would like to be like Wm. Cody alias Buffalo Bill, because he is a great rough rider, and an excelent shot with rifle and revolver. In his days he has killed many an Indian, and a great many buffalos, from which he got his name. In his younger days he rode unbroken horses of all kinds and bucking bronchos. He is very young looking now although he is about sixty five or more. He is still one of, or the best shots in the world. He has now a wild west show always traveling, with people of different nationalities in the show, and many Indians and cowboys. His show does him quite some good. Money never worries him because he has plenty of it. When he dies John Baker will get all of the show and money. He is quite liable to live quite some time longer for he is tough as iron."

Fifteen years: "I should like to be like Dimond Dick. The reason I would like to be him because he had a wild life and went after robbers and always got into a fight with pistols and guns. He always came out alright his father was a rich man and sold dimonds this young man was a boy that was named after his father he wore a great many dimonds and that was where he got the name of dimond Dick. He went away a good many times and got a hunting ground of his own. He went there one day and found men there talking he got in a back and hered them talking of reaking a train he had them arrested. I would like to be a Dimond Dick too."

Sixteen years (colored): "I think I should like to be Booker T. Washington; although I have not met him personally I have read of him and also taken up the study of his life at our young men's meetings. The reason why I would like to be Booker T. Washington is because he is a leader of the Colored Race."

Seventeen years: "I admire the character of Abraham Lincoln as much if not more than that of any other person. His generosity to his enemies as well as to his friends is shown many times during his administration. He has said he not only suffered *for* the South, but *with* the South. He was about as honest as a man could be; and when he was young he would go miles out of his way to rectify a mistake. He was very tender hearted. When he was a young man he served in an Indian War; he killed no one in this war but he saved the life of an old chief. Afterwards, he said this gave him more pleasure than if he had killed twenty Indians. For these reasons I admire his character."

In the next paper we shall discuss the analysis of the evidence.

A STUDY IN CHILDREN'S SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT.

SARAH A. YOUNG.

It is the tritest of commonplaces in these days of belief in the doctrine of natural selection and survival of the fittest, that temperament and circumstance both contribute to the child's physical, mental and spiritual making. Inheritance brings us much. That we are born man, means in the first place that we have characteristics that we mark off, for example, from canine or feline nature, and describe as human, while in addition, each one of us owes to father, mother, grandparents or remoter ancestors something of himself, the shape of a nose, a sound physical nature, the brain of a genius, the disposition that asks if life is worth living, or that which sees everything radiant in rose-colored light.

But inheritance is only one-half of the story; there is circumstance, the state of life to which it hath pleased God to call us, our place in space and time, our pastors and masters, all those external conditions in which, if the adult has power to take or reject, to obey or compel, the child has not. Neither of these two forces of temperament or circumstance can act in isolation. They clash or combine, act and react, and the product is the child.

All the time, we as educators or social reformers, acknowledge this tacitly or consciously. We grant that in a sense, there is the one touch of nature that makes the child of the Norwegian peasant and the child of the Chinese Mandarin more closely kin to each other than either is to his respective grandfather, but we know that in a few years, the wants, beliefs, feelings, impulses of the two will be widely divergent because heritage and circumstance were so different.

We admit the influence of temperament in our frequent lament that the tendency of the prevailing mass instruction in our large modern schools is to ignore the special aptitudes and dispositions of John Jones and each of his forty, fifty or sixty classmates, and to shape all our teaching and disciplinary devices for some phantom average child that our fancy or psychological lore has created. We try to reduce all variations of the type to

one smooth, uniform level, and sometimes the thought comes into our minds, that to require a child to surrender his personality in exchange for a little learning and some good habits, is to compel him to make the ancient bargain of a birth-right for a mess of pottage.

On the other hand we are continually also taking for granted the effect of different external conditions on children. We reflect on the ill effects, intellectual and moral, as well as physical, entailed on the street-bred children of large cities, compared with those who are brought up in the fields and woods. There is an implied acknowledgment also of the effectiveness of environment in shaping destiny in the present sensitiveness of the public consciousness to the narrowed and mutilated lives of the children of the state, educated in the huge barrack workhouse schools, and various efforts are being made to substitute conditions that shall be more natural and promising. In one sense the study of the effect of the environmental factor is more fruitful than that of temperament. Of the two, it can be the more easily modified. We may influence future generations, but the past is past. Our forefathers are beyond our reach. What they did and were is having its results whether we choose or not. We may, however, create an environment that will give to the young inheritor of the ages his best chance to strengthen favorable, or enfeeble hurtful inherited tendencies, and though the doctrine of acquired characteristics may be disputable, or even disproved, we may trust that somehow future generations will fare better because we have taken care of their surroundings.

The present study was undertaken in an attempt to trace some of the effects a different social environment has on the minds of children, and for this reason, pupils from elementary schools, *i. e.*, the schools for the masses, and pupils from secondary schools, *i. e.*, schools attended by those of higher social grade, were tested. Six hundred and fifty pupils in elementary schools and 500 in secondary schools were included in the inquiry. They were all girls. The ages of the children from the elementary school ranged from eight to fourteen years, and those of the secondary school children ranged from eight to fifteen or sixteen years. The test was formulated and issued by the London Branch of the British Child Study Association; and in order to furnish as

wide a scope as possible for inquiry, it was purposely framed in large and comprehensive terms. The question was given as an exercise in composition and was as follows: "If you could have just what you would like, what would you choose; and if you could do what you liked best, what would you do?"

Before discussing the data supplied by the papers it will be better, for complete understanding of the problem before us, to describe in greater detail the social condition of the children tested. The elementary school children were from London exclusively. Few of them lived even in the suburbs, and most of them belonged to Bethnal Green, Southwark and Rotherhithe, all riverside or East-end districts. They live in what it has been the fashion lately to call mean streets.

Many of the fathers of these children belong to the ranks of unskilled and precarious labor; many of the mothers eke out their husbands' scanty earnings by their own starvation wages in some poorly-paid trade; drink and want and dirt are the too common features of the daily life in these regions. The homes consist of one or two or at most three rooms; such overcrowding as prevents the formation of decent and cleanly habits is too familiar to these children; the parents have neither leisure nor knowledge for their wise control; their playground is the street, where life is presented to them in dramatic and picturesque, though not in idyllic forms. The only piece of the earth's surface familiar to them is that within a radius of a mile or two from their dwelling; the only chance of a wider outlook has been in the majority of cases due to a few hours at the seaside or in the country.

The secondary school group includes about 150 children from a Higher Grade Board School in one of the genteel suburbs of London, where the children are fully conscious of their gentility; another fifty were from a High School where the fees are on a scale prohibitive of the attendance of any but the children of the wealthier classes; the rest were all from intermediate schools, endowed or proprietary, with fees ranging from £4 to £10 or £12.

The parents are all of the servant-keeping or income-tax paying classes; their homes consist of two or three or more living rooms, where the cooking, feeding and recreative activities do not everlastingly impinge upon each other, and the bed-room accommodation satisfies all sanitary and moral demands. The children's

experience includes acquaintance with Santa Claus, Christmas parties, pantomimes, a yearly holiday at the seaside or in the country, children's books and periodicals, and above all unrelaxed parental care and interest.

As before remarked, the test question was purposely framed so as to allow of a wide expression of ideals, aspirations and desires. After reading through some of the answers without prepossession or prejudice, amid all the differences of choice, it was soon found that resemblances were discernible, and that facts could be grouped under certain plain and definite headings.

Ultimately, the following scheme was devised for collating purposes:

1. Personal objective possessions.
2. Personal subjective possessions.
3. Vocational ambitions.
4. Desire to travel.
5. Altruistic ideals.

The above headings represent the larger groupings under which the evidence was analysed, and sub-sections were formed under each. We will proceed to discuss in order the data thus classified, and we will first consider under the heading: "Personal objective possessions," how the desire for material possessions finds expression in these papers.

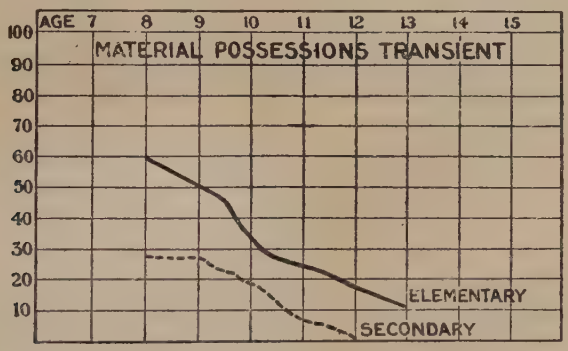
The property instinct, the desire to have and to hold some tangible, concrete thing, is one of the primitive tendencies in human nature. What testimony is there here as to the beginnings in the individual of that impulse which finds manifold expression in the fashionable woman's desire for diamonds, the bibliomaniac's yearnings for a rare edition, the rich man's ambition to build more barns? The things chosen were very various, but most of them could be included under the comprehensive headings of toys, things to eat, dress, jewellery, bicycles, piano or harp, and such instruments of activity as writing-desk, sewing machine, photographic camera.

After classifying the data under the above headings, it was apparent that these smaller groupings could be comprehended under a broader two-fold classification. One class includes the toys, the dress and things to eat; all these things are of relatively little monetary value, are not durable, and are obvious and near

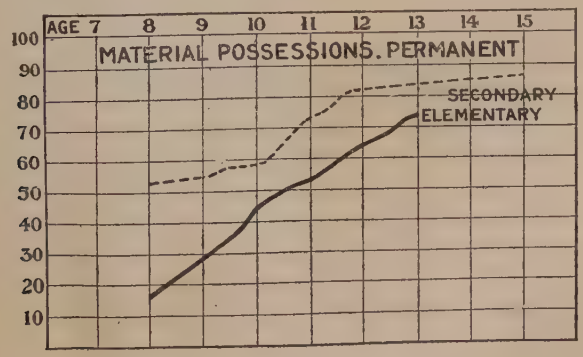
to the child. The other class includes the bicycles, jewellery, pianos and the like; all of which are of more permanent quality, more costly, and more difficult of attainment by the child.

The accompanying charts represent these two groups, and indicate the manner in which the girls of different ages and different social status make their choice:

Ages . . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Elementary	60%	50%	33%	24%	17%	10%	—	—
Secondary .	28%	26%	17%	7%	1%	0%	0%	0%



Ages . . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Elementary	18%	28%	43%	54%	64%	72%	—	—
Secondary .	53%	53%	58%	74%	81%	82%	85%	86%



From the first chart, we learn that at eight years of age, 60 per cent. of the children in the elementary school choose the things of more perishable quality and that the number decreases rapidly and uniformly until at thirteen years of age there are only 10 per cent. who make this choice. From the same chart we find that only 28 per cent. of the secondary school children at eight years of age choose things of less enduring quality and this number decreases until at twelve years of age only 1 per cent. desire possessions of this kind.

From the second chart, we learn that at eight years of age, 18 per cent. of the elementary school children choose things which have enduring quality, and the line ascends steadily until at thirteen years 72 per cent. of the girls make this choice. With the secondary school children, the line rises from 53 per cent. at eight years of age to 86 per cent. at fifteen years of age.

From a comparison of the two charts, two generalizations seem obvious:

1. There are more of the younger than of the elder children in both classes of schools who select from among the things of less permanent value, and here we have confirmation of what we possibly realized before, that the small child's paradise is one made up of things good to eat, pretty to wear, and nice to play with. The young child is weak in futurity, we say, and he is quite content to leave the morrow to take care of itself, provided the present brings satisfaction. The second chart, however, shows that advancing years bring a far-seeing eye. A lasting good is preferred to a transitory one. Something is desired which will be as productive of satisfaction, months or years hence, as to-day or to-morrow. At the same time it is something more difficult of attainment, for even the young child with undeveloped notions of money values, realizes dimly that there is more chance of obtaining a new doll for the next birthday, than there is of possessing a bicycle.

2. There is a smaller proportion, at any age of the secondary school girls, who select from among the things represented by the first chart, and conversely a larger number of them choose from the things represented by the second chart. Have we here the expression of a higher intelligence or simply that of a more favorable environment? A closer analysis of the data will help

to answer this question. A far larger proportion of the elementary school children ask for cakes and sweets, a new dress, or hat, than of the girls from the other schools, and the secondary school line in the first chart represents, almost entirely, toys. To the children of the comfortable classes, a new frock or hat comes without wishing, and is the normal accompaniment of the change of seasons. Cakes, sweets and similar dainties are also usual experiences and hence these children, more favored of fortune, have little here to demand of destiny except a more magnificent doll or a bigger doll's house than the one already possessed. For a similar reason, the secondary school girls do not ask for a piano, as do many of the elder ones from the elementary school, though the origin of this widely spread desire is somewhat difficult to determine; it may betoken a genuine wish for opportunity to develop musical yearnings or it may signify social ambitions; the possession of a piano in one grade of society indicating distinction among one's fellows as that of a yacht does in another.

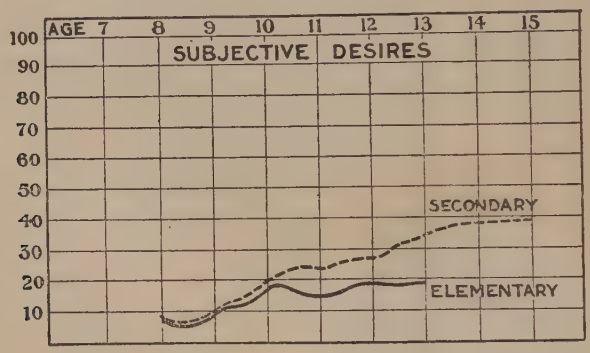
Of the things represented by the second chart, there is a greater variety of choice among the secondary school girls than with those from the elementary school. A mandolin, guitar, harp or photographic camera are some of the things which reflect a more varied material environment than that with which the girls from the elementary school are acquainted.

The next heading in the collating scheme, "Personal subjective desires," indicates the extension of the idea, "mine," to a wider and less material signification than it has for the small child. A very young child's "mine" begins and ends with his playthings, clothes, cup and spoon, chair, parts of his body, his mother and others who minister to his bodily needs. The idea underlying such expressions as "my success," "my eloquence," "my fame," "my grace" or "wit," have no existence for him. Gradually, however, social impulses, such as the desire to please, the love of praise and power, the love of love, are developed, and thus a wider and more spiritual self-consciousness is evolved which estimates the thing which can be grasped in the hand as of less value than that which has no visible, tangible existence, but which is in a surer sense a part of the personality.

There were a number among both sets of girls who asked for school success, skill or ability in various directions, beauty,

health, and the like, and the following chart illustrates the gradually developing consciousness in this direction:

Ages . . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Elementary	8%	10%	18%	16%	19%	19%	—	—
Secondary .	8%	10%	18%	24%	27%	34%	39%	39%



There is one marked difference between the two sets of girls at twelve years of age and above twelve years. Many of the secondary school girls desire pre-eminence in some branch of artistic activity, not apparently for the art's sake so much as for the distinction, applause and fame that surpassing achievement brings. Average attainment and dull mediocrity do not satisfy them; nor have they apparently any knowledge of the price that must be paid in the engrossing servitude that art exacts from her devotees.

The following examples illustrate what is meant: "to have a magnificent voice;" "to be a great musician;" "to paint beautiful pictures when I grow up;" "to write a book that would appeal to all classes of people;" "to have a talent for something;" "to be able to compose music like Handel or Mendelssohn;" "to paint pictures as Raphael and other great painters have done;" "to write a book like Anne of Gierstein or Ivanhoe."

In these limitless desires we have apparently some illustration of that rapid expansion of the personality which is one of the characteristics of adolescence. One way in which it manifests itself is by an impatience of all checks and limitations whether imposed by external authority, or convention, or natural endow-

ment. There are no confines, however, in the region of imagination or desires, whatever barriers actual conditions may set up, and the above expression of girlish ambitions exemplifies the tendency of human nature to atone for the limitations of the actual by a free wandering in the world of day-dreams. It is a somewhat noteworthy omission in these days of woman's brilliant success in university examinations that none of the writers express desire for such achievement, none wish to excel in scholarship, though many say vaguely they would like to be clever; none again, in an era of feminine platform oratory, ask for eloquence or influence in public and social affairs. It is curious that with the present development of woman's activities in so many directions, none of the more modern methods in which women find interest, occupation and distinction are apparently sought by these writers, if the negative evidence of omission is to be accepted as testimony.

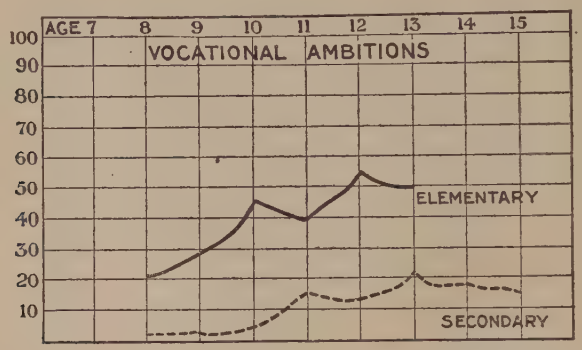
The three charts so far considered show that to the young child of any social grade, the value of any future is as nothing compared with that brief fraction of eternity we call the present. The fragmentariness of the child's attention, his inability to live otherwise than in jerks and spasms and at the mercy of every chance association of the present is that which differentiates him chiefly from the better organized adult. The latter has learned to give hostages to the future, to trust that after all the two birds in the bush may be better than the bird in the hand; prudence and hope together have taught him to live habitually with outward gaze.

The child, however, is like the foolish grasshopper in the fable; he represents the grasshopper grade of intelligence; but gradually, as these charts show, he comes to be able to live with hope deferred, to lay up for the morrow, to choose an abiding pleasure rather than a transient one.

Our next heading is "Vocational ambitions." The following chart signifies that the question, "What would you like to do?" is interpreted by many of the writers as referring solely to future vocation and they answer it simply by the selection of some among the diverse occupations open to them.

As the chart indicates, a much larger proportion of the elementary school girls make their choice in this way than of the secondary girls. Throughout, the line for the secondary school

Ages . . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Elementary	22%	30%	45%	40%	56%	50%	—	—
Secondary .	3%	3%	3%	17%	15%	21%	18%	18%



girls is lower than the other. In neither case is it perfectly steady. With the secondary school girls it ascends from 3 per cent. at eight years of age to 21 per cent. at thirteen years, and then at fifteen it drops to 18 per cent. With the elementary school girls, the number ascends from 22 per cent. at eight years of age, with a break at eleven years of age, to 56 per cent. at twelve years, and then it drops to 50 per cent. at thirteen years.

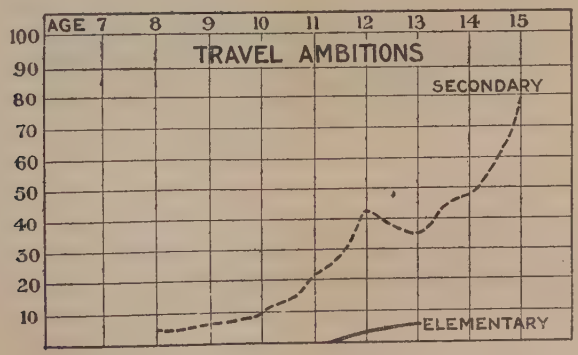
According to this chart then, there are a number of girls, especially of the primary school, who in thinking of the future, with a whole range of human aspirations, ideals and ambitions, attainable and unattainable, from which to select, restrict their desires to choice of vocation. To be a domestic servant, or dressmaker, or teacher exhausts their ideas of life's possibilities. Each twenty-four hours of the future is to be divided between eating and sleeping on the one hand and providing the means to do so on the other.

To the disenchanted and disillusioned individual of middle age, work is often the most satisfying and consolatory element in existence; but that sanguine youth, to whom nothing is impossible, should conceive that destiny has nothing more in store than choice of the particular means of earning enough bread and butter suggests a dull and cramped intelligence rather than philosophical content.

According to the chart, however, the majority of the girls of the secondary school think that the future ought to offer more than industrial opportunity. This cannot be because they do not expect to be economically self-dependent. Many women are now enrolled among the world's workers, and self-sustenance will be without question the lot of most of the writers from the elementary and secondary schools here represented. A larger proportion of the latter, however, demand from destiny more gifts than choice in vocational activity. Some of them are dreaming, as the last chart shows, of artistic renown as well as industrial success, and most of them, if they express their wishes at all with regard to future professional or industrial career, do so only as a part of their ideals and aspirations.

The next chart illustrates heading, "The desire to travel," which is one form of that process of self-enlargement which is the common characteristic of the new life of adolescence.

Ages . . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Elementary	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	5%	—	—
Secondary .	4%	4%	9%	23%	43%	37%	48%	74%



Here we have statistically expressed the realization that the native town or village is but a fraction of the whole world, which is a big place crowded with goodly and wonderful things. The spirit of inquiry, of enterprise, of unrest, which is the outcome of the up-springing life of adolescence, finds stimulus and direction in the thought of the manifold interest of remote scenes and peo-

ple; and hence is created the desire to become a part of it all by actual experience. Thus the travel-hunger is one means by which the self of childhood is developed into the larger being of later life.

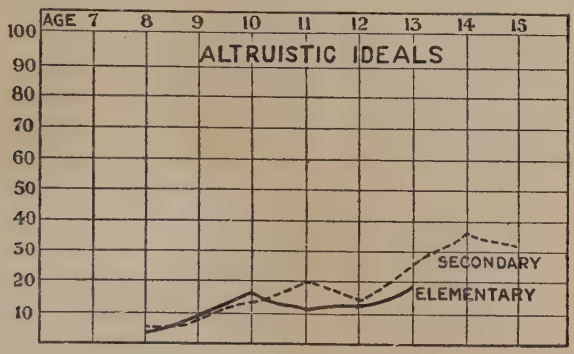
In no other chart presented in this study have we the difference between the ideals of the two groups of girls exhibited so markedly. Below the age of eleven, none of the elementary school girls express any desire to travel and there are never more than 5 per cent. At eight years of age there are 4 per cent. of the secondary school girls and the number increases to 74 per cent. at 15 years of age.

In many cases some definite place or scene attracts the writer, as the Pyramids, the Alps, the Lakes of Killarney; in others, their desires are bounded by the world itself, as the following examples show: "I want to travel about the world and see everything there is to be seen;" "If it were possible, I would like to travel all over the world. I should like to visit all the picture galleries;" "If some lucky chance should enable me in the future to carry out my greatest wish, it would be to travel in far distant lands;" "To travel and see with my own eyes everything of which one hears so much."

One important result of the discovery of the New World in the fifteenth century and the consequent impetus given to travel and adventure was the stimulus afforded to the imagination of stay-at-homes, who listened to the recital of some returned voyager with the same avidity as Desdemona hearkened to Othello. The book of travels, the colonial or international exposition, the newspaper, the story of some travelled kinsman are the modern substitute for the explorer's tales of Elizabethan times, and although science and custom have reduced the wonder and romance of even the utermost parts of the earth, to the young the distant land will still be the land of enchantment, though reached by train or steamship and inhabited by men and women. In this way will be counteracted in some degree the common tendency to think human experience exactly coincident with the experience of the individual. Which are in the better case these London primary school children who are apparently unconscious of regions more remote or marvellous than Epping Forest or Brighton, or those other children who may never get farther than Paris though they yearn to know the whole world?

So far the statistics presented have illustrated egoistic aspirations and ambitions, but there were many of the writers who asked in addition, or instead of personal gratification, the opportunity of service to others. The following chart exhibits these tendencies:

Ages .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Elementary	2%	9%	16%	14%	14%	16%	—	—
Secondary .	3%	8%	16%	20%	17%	27%	34%	32%



From eight to ten years of age, the percentage of both secondary and elementary school children rises from 2 or 3 to 16 per cent. Then there is a divergence and with the elementary school girls the line moves from 16 per cent. at ten years of age to 18 per cent. at thirteen. There is a more broken, but, on the whole, steady rise with the secondary school girls.

This chart is in a sense supplementary to the preceding one. Both are the expression of consciousness of a larger world and a more complex life than that of the individual self and its habitual surroundings. Both are indications of the social sense, though the last is the clearer and fuller illustration of this, while the former points more definitely to increased intellectual insight.

The two lines in this chart approximate more nearly to one another throughout than in any of the others, and so far as the preference of another's weal to that of the individual self is a mirror of spiritual development, we conclude that the two sets of girls are here practically at the same level, though the objects around which their sympathies cluster are in the main very dif-

ferent. The girls from the elementary school are much more frequently preoccupied with the thought of personal family affliction or domestic straitened circumstances, and are much less intent on the sorrow of others.

The following are typical illustrations: "to be able to live out of London for the sake of mother who is delicate;" "to have plenty of money when I am grown up so that father need not work when he is old;" "to have some money left to me to give to my mother so that about Thursday or Friday when she gets short, instead of borrowing of my father, I could give her some."

In these and similar examples, we see reflected the anxious life of careful or sordid poverty, where fourpence must go as far as sixpence or a shilling should go, and where there is often the misery of sickness added to inadequate means. These writers feel the impulse to personal service and devotion, but early responsibility has narrowed their sympathies to the four walls of home.

The majority of the girls from the secondary schools are not in such close, intimate touch with adversity. The result is that the sympathetic instinct, not perforce pent up within the narrow confines of personal experience, finds expression in the desire for missionary effort and philanthropic enterprise.

The following are typical ideals: "to preach the Gospel to the heathen;" "to have a home for the deaf and dumb;" "to make some poor orphan children happy;" "to be able to supply all the poor people that are dying with cold and hunger daily with food and money;" "to have a home for cripple children."

In further interpretation of the different types of altruism represented by the two lines in our chart, it must be remembered that charity signifies what we give divided by what we have. Hence, what is given in shillings by the one set of girls, whether in reality or in ideal, would be comparable to the pennies given by the others. That is the whole story of the widow's mite. Besides, in actual experience of philanthropy, the one set represents the class that is habituated to receive while the others occupy the reciprocal relation. These are donors; the others are recipients. The secondary school children are accustomed to put pennies into the missionary box, to give their cast-off clothes to poorer children, to collect money for the Children's Holiday Fund. On the other hand, some of the other children are habituated to have

free meals provided for them, others are sent into the country in the summer, and others again are provided with boots and warm clothing in the winter. In moral training doing precedes thinking, and the little acts of charity performed by the children of the superior class may have done something in creating the aspirations and ideals of social amelioration on a large scale.

Whatever difference, however, there may be in the direction of the sympathies of the two sets of girls, there is one common characteristic. Their attention is concentrated on the obvious and external ills of humanity. The sole source of tears and pain is, in their judgment, bodily sickness or privation. The woes and conflicts that are felt in the spirit alone are to them an unknown factor. A pain-stricken or maimed body, children dinnerless on Christmas Day, women singing for bread in the rain are experiences that appeal to them; these they can understand and their remedy is as simple as sure. The purse of a Fortunatus kept continually open would banish all sorrow and sighing. With that they could and would act the part of the genie in Eastern stories. The relation of human conduct to misery, the effect of the interplay of complex social forces, the influence of heredity are by them unknown and unrecognized, as is also the modern idea that undiscriminating charity as a remedy is worse than the disease it seeks to alleviate.

So far we have considered the significance of each chart separately and we have completed the analysis of the evidence under the chosen headings. Let us now look at the results collectively, with the purpose of bringing to a focus any generalizations deducible from them.

Comparing the evidence presented by the charts entitled, "Permanent Material Possessions," "Subjective Desires," "Travel Ambition," "Altruistic Ideals," we notice that we have in each with both sets of girls, growing lines of tendency. That development spells progress is the fundamental axiom of the evolutionary doctrine; we rise on stepping stones of our dead selves in the region of intellect as well as morals. Hence, whenever under normal circumstances we find any phenomena of our mental existence gaining strength with the years, we may interpret them as higher forms of life. This being granted, each of the charts must be read as illustrating one phase of the movement from

brute and undeveloped consciousness to intelligent and developed consciousness.

Apart from the evolutionary argument, our spiritual intuitions tell us the same thing. We feel that it is wiser to choose the more durable of two satisfactions, better to prefer mental and spiritual wealth to material. Further, the desire to know and the desire to serve are higher human attributes than the desire to possess.

If these preliminaries to discussion be granted, then the united testimony of these charts and the upshot of our whole inquiry is that both sets of girls are on a higher spiritual plane at the conclusion of the school period than at the initial or any intervening stage, but that the secondary school children are incontestably more advanced than the others. If we accept the progress of the latter as the standard of comparison, then the primary school children tested are in a relatively backward stage of development.

The other two charts, named "Desires for Transient Material Possessions" and "Vocational Ambitions," strengthen the conclusions based on the others. According to the one chart, it is to the elementary school children especially, that the bauble of the present outweighs the solid advantages of the future, and it is to them chiefly that the unfettered grown-up period of life of a child's fancy represents nothing but a struggle for physical existence. Together these two charts give us a type of mind of incomplete development, immobile, unresistant, allured by the mere shows of things.

The next step to generalization is explanation. How are we to account for the differences thus established between the two sets of girls? It is impossible to measure with exactness the extent to which heredity and environment are separately responsible for these differences. The problem is too vast and complex and the evidence perhaps inadequate in quantity and quality. It is necessary to remind ourselves here that the scientific spirit is modest as well as bold and that both generalization and interpretation must of necessity be tentative and not seek to emulate the precision and all-embracingness of a mathematical formula.

With this proviso, we may make one or two suggestions in explanation of the conclusions at which we have arrived. In the

charts named "Subjective Desires" and "Altruistic Ideals," the lines of growth are coincident at first. Does this suggest that the original average endowment was similar and hence that the subsequent differences are due not to inheritance but to environment; in other words, to education, meaning by the latter, the combined effect of all external circumstances upon the individual consciousness?

In any case, it seems possible from *a priori* reasoning, to deduce the same conclusions as our inductive study has given us.

The span of consciousness compared with the extent of the world of knowledge and perception is limited in its range even with the genius, and with the average individual it is exceedingly contracted. Every one of us is obliged to select only a small fragment of the universe as an object of interest and attention and hence we choose a few things from the whole world of sensations and ideas and disregard the rest. As in physical vision, where the more concentrated the gaze, the less the area observed, so with the mind. An overmastering passion or interest, whether born of necessity or will, excludes the rest and we pay for intensity by lack of breadth. Hence, if attention is continually absorbed by the insistent and reiterated demands of physical wants, then the mind has not energy or elasticity to spare for other interests. An ever present anxiety to keep out of debt and to expand the purchasing power of sixpence freezes the genial current of the soul, and spiritual movement is stayed. Such an environment cannot but have an analogous effect on the young exposed to its influence. The pressure of hard material existence is felt by them at second-hand, and when the reflective powers of the elder daughter of a family are beginning to develop, and she is ready to put away childish things, then it is the state of the family exchequer that draws off all mental energy thus released into the narrow channel of care for food and raiment.

So much as part explanation of the conclusions reached by our study, but perhaps the influence of environment will be more appreciated if, adopting modern ideas and modern phraseology, we regard all external conditions and experiences as so many competing forces acting through suggestion and imitation and creating in consciousness ideas and impulses to action. The phenomenon of hypnotism is but an exaggerated and pathological

illustration of normal conditions, and the nearest analogue to the hypnotized subject is to be found in the average child. A child's mental organization is unstable and impressionable. Habit has not developed the closely knit and definitely directed mode of thought characteristic of the adult's mind, and hence he is more readily responsive to the play of suggestion, of example and precept. Ideas evolved in his mind through the medium of perception or language tend to work themselves out in the sphere of action, or if hindrances to this occur, the idea may be translated into dreams and aspirations for the future.

To the secondary school children of our inquiry as compared with the others, is presented a comparatively rich and varied succession of suggestive stimuli. It is the difference between the bare walls of a garret and the picture-covered walls of one of our annual art exhibitions. An uncle has been to America, a sister is a governess in Germany, an aunt is studying music with the hope of future professional fame, a friend is a missionary in West Africa; the talk of the elders is of many things, and there are books and papers lying all around. All this manifold experience acts as starting points for ideas, which are the first stages in the growth of the aspirations and desires which we have found voiced in the answers to the test.

Our final conclusion thus is: with the elementary school child, necessity first tends to concentrate mental energy into one channel, and then a meagre environment presents few diverting influences; hence, the relatively contracted mental outlook that this study has shown to be his possession.

CHILDREN'S IDEAS OF LADY AND GENTLEMAN.

ANNA KÖHLER BARNES.

If one lives in London even for a few months he comes to feel how deep-seated and persistent are the lines of separation that divide the social classes. The real aristocracy of England is so thoroughly determined by birth that even when a man is knighted for success in artistic, literary, military or financial work, his social prestige is a thing distinctly apart from that held by a man who bears a title derived from his ancestors. Trade and manual labor have always been little esteemed by aristocracies of birth, and the farther away an English gentleman is from the origin of his title the higher he rises in the social scale.

To be of the upper middle class one must belong to the landed gentry, to the clergy, to the army, to one of the learned professions or to the wealthier trading classes. The clerk, the school teacher and the retail trader are relegated to the lower sections of the middle class; while the great bulk of the people is left in the lowest layer, commonly called the masses, and including artisans and laborers. Not all who are included in the masses, however, are on the same social level. Class distinctions are as closely drawn among the great army of work-a-day people of London as they are in the upper layers of society. Their social divisions rest upon what to them are very fundamental differences, though to the casual observer they are hard to detect. It will be remembered that Mr. Pickwick admitted the claim of one of his companions to be a gentleman on the ground that he "drank his four-and-a-half pints of ale a day, and never stopped smoking even during meals." That conditions have not greatly changed since Dickens wrote is shown by a writer in the *Spectator* for February 22, 1902, who cites the instance of some of the roughest factory girls black-balling other girls who wanted to join their club on the social ground that they belonged to "no class."

While seeking some means of studying this strongly marked class feeling in the masses, Miss Mary Louch, of Cheltenham,

suggested that we ought to get some help from compositions written by children in the common schools in response to the questions: What is a gentleman? What is a lady? Accordingly, compositions were gathered from 700 girls in the London Board Schools. Later the same test was given to 700 boys and 700 girls of the common schools in the Eastern United States, where it is sometimes claimed that there are no classes.

The comparison of the children in the two countries is very difficult because the 1,400 American boys and girls who wrote in answer to the questions are representative of all classes of American children, while the 700 English girls who answered the same question represent the Board Schools of London, which are attended only by the children of the lower classes. We can, therefore, make comparisons only between the American girls from the public schools and the girls from the London Board Schools; and between American boys and girls.

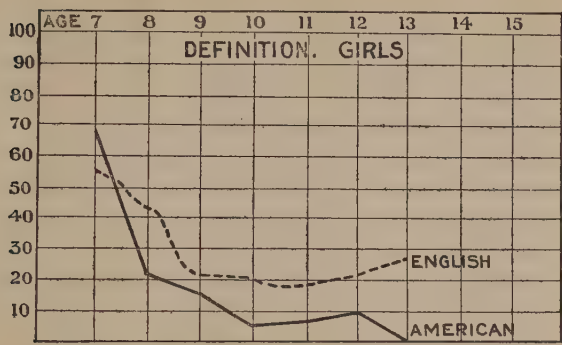
The papers were analyzed and classified under the following headings: Definition, *e. g.* "a grown up girl;" rank, *e. g.* "one born to high estate;" appearance or possessions, *e. g.* "he looks nice and has lots of servants;" non-material possessions, *e. g.* "well educated;" language, *e. g.* "don't swear;" morals, *e. g.* "kind to poor people;" manners, *e. g.* "polite;" and independent of birth or wealth, *e. g.* "money and clothes don't make a lady."

To many of the children the test appealed only as an exercise in defining words. Sixty-one per cent. of both the American and the English girls, and 44 per cent. of the American boys, at seven years old define the terms "gentleman" and "lady." This tendency decreases as the children grow older; and the boys, age for age, define less than the girls do as the following table shows:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys	44%	17%	15%	9%	10%	6%	3%
Girls	61%	34%	18%	14%	14%	15%	12%

English girls at all ages, except seven, define more than the American girls do, as the following table shows:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
English Girls	55%	42%	21%	20%	19%	21%	24%
American Girls	67%	21%	16%	5%	9%	10%	2%



Not only do the English girls give more definitions, but what they write is always more specifically a definition than is the American. The following examples are typical of the English answers collected under this heading: "A man is a umanbean Becose he is alive." "A Lady must be a animal becose she is not made by man or grow in the Earth." "A lady is a human being because she does not live on prey. She eats flesh but does not catch it herself like animals do." "A Lady is a human being and a living thing and a person." The American children write as follows: "One of mother's friends." "A lady is a she." "A gentleman is a he." "A lady wears long dresses." "A lady is a grown up girl."

The games of English children are filled with refrains of "my fair lady" and "Prince Charming," and their popular poems describe a fine old English gentleman or a lady of high degree. In London, too, the influence of the royal family is every where present, so it was natural to anticipate that the English papers would have much to say of titles and of people of high birth. The fact is, however, that only 6 per cent. of all the English girls give rank as a necessary condition to being a lady or a gentleman. A few of the papers emphasizing rank read:

"A lady is a titled person. Before having this title given to them, they go to the king or queen of the country. They kneel down as a woman and rise as a lady. If a lady wanted a title she must do something very great, so that her name is hight." "I think a lady is the wife of a lord, earl or a duke, because as the lord, earl or duke have those titles, the wife would, or ought to have a title."

In the American democracy, where the literature is filled with the lives of men who became great in spite of poverty and ignoble birth, and where the rich and poor children have equal rights and nearly equal privileges, it was natural to think that the children's papers would have fewer references to rank than those written in London. But, while titles of rank are never mentioned, there is an unmistakable recognition of class distinction running through the American papers. Six per cent. of the English girls mention titles, and 5 per cent. of the American girls and 4 per cent. of the American boys describe some class distinction which entitles a person to be called a gentleman or a lady. The following papers illustrate this American class distinction: "A gentleman don't have to work or nothing he walks around streets to see the news." "Most ladies go in society." "A lady is in the parlor." "My idea of a lady is a woman of good breeding who comes of a good family and has a good education."

Remembering that the English girls are from the class that has fewer material advantages than the average of the American girls, it is not surprising that 25 per cent. of the former and only 12 per cent. of the latter make mention of fine houses, servants, jewels, clothes and general prosperity as connected with a lady's life. The line is a growing one with advancing years.

Ages	7 yrs.	10 yrs.	13 yrs.
English Girls	17%	25%	30%
American Girls	6%	15%	18%
American Boys	9%	12%	6%

It will be seen from the above table that the American boy thinks less of appearance and money as indicating a lady or a gentleman than the American girl does. The papers show that the English girls have a more idealized material setting for their gentleman and lady than that of the American children. This is due, no doubt, to the fact that the English girls belong to the Board Schools, and to the influence on the feeling of all sections of society caused by the constant presence of the gentry in London. The following English papers illustrate this idealized setting: "A lady is a woman who lives in a big house, and has a maid to do her hair for her every morning and who goes out to parties, balls and concerts." "A lady has plenty of money and

is dressed in beautiful dresses, and has plenty of servants to do the work." "You can tell a gentleman from a poor labourer by his high hat, and the rings on his fingers and he would never think of going out without his walking stick." The material setting chosen by the American children is represented by the following answers: "My idea of a lady is she ought to have nice clothes." "A lady is always neat and keeps her clothes in repair." "A lady ought not to do any work but have some other lady to do the work." A boy adds: "I think that a lady should not have any hard work to do around the house. That a man should do all the hard work. When ever a lady is dressed up she ought to look like the fashion. My opinion of a gentleman is that he should do all the work excepting washing dishes, washing floors and washing clothes."

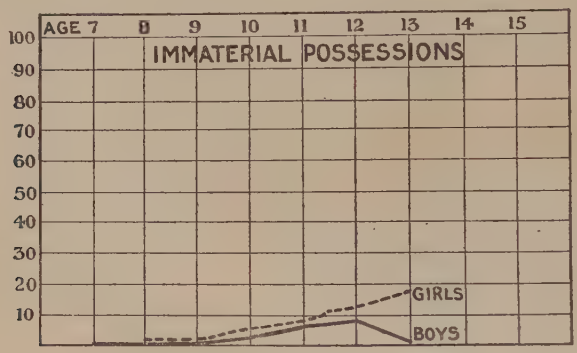
Bad language receives a fair amount of attention in characterizing both gentleman and lady. Five per cent. of the girls and 4 per cent. of the boys say a gentleman must not swear. "He is a gentleman if he does not use bad language," says an English girl; and another goes so far as to insist that they must not even "listen to bad language, because if they are in a very bad rage or temper, they might forget themselves and use the bad talk they have heard." The American children declare that, "A man that is not vulgar in talk is a gentleman;" and, "The first thing that makes a man a gentleman is that he must not swear or use bad language."

When it comes to the lady, five times as many English girls as Americans insist that she must not swear. It is impossible for one who knows nothing of the crowded tenement districts of the East End of London, from which many of our papers came, to realize how vulgar a woman can be. Respectable working women enter the public houses, or saloons, as freely as the men do; they are frequently seen intoxicated on the street, and their language lacks few of the expletives used by men.

Only 6 per cent. of the English girls, 4 per cent. of the American girls, and 3 per cent. of the American boys require education, travel, or accomplishments, other than good manners, for their lady or gentleman. All these references were classed under non-material possessions, and included such phrases as, "plays the piano;" "speaks many different languages;" "is well edu-

cated;" "travels about different countries." Children feel and respond to these subjective possessions when they meet them in others, but they have little power to think about them, and still less power to write about them. The distribution of these references by ages is as follows:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys	1%	1%	1%	2%	3%	8%	2%
Girls	0%	1%	1%	6%	7%	12%	16%



Forty-four per cent. of all the children at seven years old give some moral quality as a requisite for a lady or for a gentleman. At ten years, the number increases to 59 per cent. and at thirteen years to 64 per cent., nearly two-thirds of all the children. As in an earlier study on Queen Victoria, so here, most of the children confined themselves to vague statements that they are good and kind; though here and there a more definite attribute, like charity, cleanliness, religion, chastity or industry is introduced. In all, 54 per cent. of the English girls and 58 per cent. of the American girls speak of morals. The older girls give more of such references than the younger, but the lines of growth are not very striking:

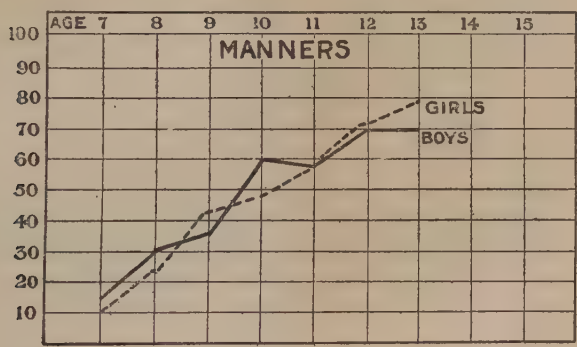
Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
English Girls	46%	42%	50%	56%	56%	64%	65%
American Girls	47%	50%	68%	69%	62%	55%	55%

The main qualitative difference between the papers of the English girls and those of the American girls with regard to morals seems to be that the former emphasizes cleanliness in con-

nection with the house and the latter with the person. Thus English girls say: "A lady is one who looks respectable and keeps her house clean and tidy." "A lady is a lady which does her work neat and clean." On the other hand, an American girl says: "I would look at her finger nails and her shoes and if they were nice and clean I should think that person was a lady."

"Manners not money makes a lady," says an English girl, and the following table and chart show what strong and steadily growing emphasis both boys and girls lay upon manners as distinguishing marks of a lady and a gentleman:

Ages . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Boys . .	15%	30%	37%	60%	58%	70%	70%
Girls . .	10%	24%	43%	48%	58%	71%	77%



English girls speak of manners in connection with the tea table, conduct on the streets, and politeness toward poorer people. The American girl, on the other hand, emphasizes demeanor toward boys, and she lays more stress on formal manners. For example, the English girl says: "She must know her manners at the tea-table;" and, "She must not flurt and bounce about on the streets;" while the American girl writes: "My idea of a lady is to say thank you, please, sir, and mam; to be polite; not to say I done anything or I seen; to be gentle and kind to every one." "I think a girl should not act foolish in the house or with a boy." "After the age of thirteen a lady should not climb trees unless to get away from a dog."

The American boys lay even more stress on the relation of the sexes than do their sisters. Thus 48 per cent. of them mention manners and 25 per cent. of them make specific mention of being polite to a woman or a girl. "A gentleman is a man that takes off his hat and says how to do, to the ladys. Even if he is just learning how to ride a wheel and dosn't know how to ride with one hand, only two hands he must take one to take off his hat and fall of the wheel. If he does this he is a pure gentleman." "If a gentleman should be on the car and he was sitting down and a lady was standing, he should get up and give the lady his seat."

To recognize that being a lady or a gentleman depends on qualities of character and of conduct that are independent of circumstances is to rise to a decidedly democratic plane; and yet 20 per cent. of the English girls make such a statement, as compared with 5 per cent. of the American girls and 7 per cent. of the American boys. Possibly the American children take it for granted. The percentages for the ages are:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
English	0%	0%	3%	3%	8%	20%	35%
American	0%	1%	2%	2%	4%	7%	5%

The following papers illustrate the above table. "Our dead Queen Victoria was a real lady she was in high ranks, but this is not a reason to be a lady you must be honest, true and kind even in the poorest classes you can be a lady if you try."

An American paper puts the same thought a little more fully. "A man may be a gentleman if he is poor, although he has twice the chance for a good education if he is wealthy. He may also be a gentleman if he comes from uneducated, ill-bred people, although he has twice the chance if he comes from well-bred people. I have heard of many cases where a man comes from fine, well-bred people and is disowned when he becomes a man; I have also heard of cases where a man is born in a meek little wayside hut, and works on a farm while he is young, becoming a great poet or statesman. This shows that if a man is rich his money by no means makes him a true gentleman."

From the point of view of quantitative study the results of this investigation are disappointing. This is at least partly due to the fact that the words are themselves in a condition of change

where they still retain their older class meaning, and at the same time have become the every-day possession of the masses. Lady is still a title of distinction in England; and at the same time a charwoman refers to the "lidy" who shares her tenement. This makes quantitative results difficult to reach and yet the study gives us some quantitative results, and others drawn from the general quality of the papers, which enable us to supplement and correct our general impressions of ideas of caste among children.

In the first place, one realizes how rapidly the so-called Anglo-Saxon world is being democratized. Not only does the servant girl wear the silks and ribbons which were formerly the exclusive property of her mistress, but she has also taken over the verbal ornaments of society as well. In the American schools examined, the son of President Roosevelt attends the same school and receives the same treatment as the son of the President's gardener. In England, the children live in an atmosphere filled with deferential feeling for King and Queen, for lords and ladies, for pastors and masters. And yet it must also be remembered that the English children examined, live in a great metropolis in the presence of such democratizing forces as the free schools, shop windows, newspapers, public demonstrations, theatres and common conveyances like the "tuppenny tube."

Thus it comes about that the social transition is more marked in London than in America. This is seen in the superior number of London children who say that, being a lady or gentleman is independent of external circumstances. It appears still more in a quality of the papers which cannot be entered in a collating sheet. The American papers take it for granted that any one can be a lady or gentleman, but the London papers, while they say this is true, always have a background of class feeling which marks them as written in a time of transition. Take, for instance, the following:

"A lady is very often or generally very rich, but not always so very rich. Very often a real lady has a title or something on to her name. Working classes of women are ladies but they do not seem to think so." "How wrong is the idea which exists among many people that to be a lady is to have plenty of money. To be a lady is not to be too proud to speak to those below one in station. A woman cannot become a lady all at once even though

she have money left her. She must have been brought up to be a lady in habits and manners. It takes a long time to become a lady when one is not used to it." "A lady is just an ordinary woman like any one else she is a little richer and wears better clothing she generally rides about in a cab with a driver."

Meantime those who fear that we are being too rapidly transformed into a democracy may derive great comfort from these papers. These children who want to be gentlemen and ladies might be attracted solely by the material and non-material possessions, the rank and circumstance, that formerly went with the words. Instead, they have their eyes fixed on the morals and manners of the estate towards which they strive. So long as this is true no great harm can come to civilization if all the boys and all the girls in the world become gentlemen and ladies.

In his "Defence of Heraldry," Mr. Chesterton says:[1] "In the old aristocratic days there existed this vast pictorial symbolism of all the colors and degrees of aristocracy. When the great trumpet of equality was blown, almost immediately afterwards was made one of the greatest blunders in the history of mankind. For all this pride and vivacity should have been extended to mankind. . . . Instead of doing this the democrats made the appalling mistake . . . of decreasing the human magnificence of the past instead of increasing it. They did not say, as they should have done, to the common citizen, 'You are as good as the Duke of Norfolk,' but used that meaner democratic formula, 'The Duke of Norfolk is no better than you are!'" Judging from this study, the teachers of America and England, if they are partly responsible for democratizing thought and language, are still preserving the best content of the older terms.

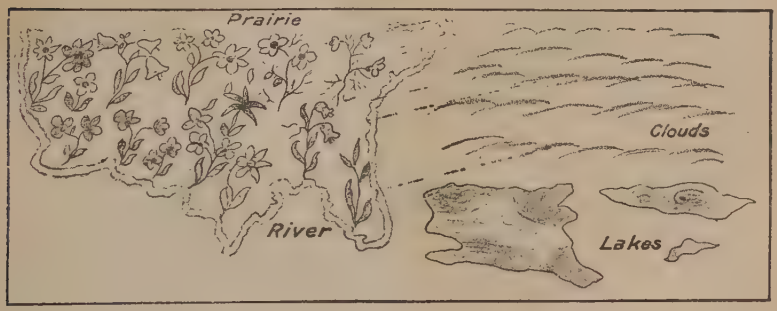
[1] The Defendant. By C. K. Chesterton. London, 1901.

STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. IV.

Illustration of Stories.

In our modern democracies we constantly make the mistake of setting up ideals in the arts of expression so high that we cannot even approximately realize them. Such ideals paralyze action, especially with those undeveloped minds which are still subject to the tyranny of things.

We buy pictures, framed and covered with glass, and we declare them to be art; we hear sounds produced by a piano and we say they are music. Meantime our magazines often have



better art in them than we have on our walls; and a banjo sometimes makes better music than a piano. Art, religion and science exist in all degrees of excellence from A. to infinity; and every individual should find that which fits his own development, and should make it an integral part of his life. Such, however, is the power of the world's self-constituted priesthoods in art, religion and science that they are able to fill our minds with standards divorced from every-day life until we become unable to see the beauty in the swinging shadows of foliage on the sidewalk under the electric light; or to hear the music in a child's voice.

To develop and retain our independent sense of what is beautiful we must ourselves be artists in some field; otherwise our appreciation becomes, at best, that of critics skilled in detecting errors, or at worst, that of indifference.

Little children always love to draw; as they grow older we paralyze their efforts, through our framed and glass-covered standards. The very word drawing, which in infancy means making pictures of men and forests and animals, comes later to mean manual training exercises with vertical and horizontal lines, or representations of triangles and cylinders, with occasionally the privilege of picturing a bottle or a chalk-box.

The pictures this month were drawn in the schools of Napa, California, by two girls, twelve years old, who had been in school six years, and who had used drawing freely all the time. They had received no special art instruction, but they had been saved

from art paralysis. These papers were selected from the general work of the class, which was all good, because they best illustrated the value of such work.

As material for regular composition work the teacher read the class this stanza:

"Rich prairies, decked with flowers of gold,
  Like sunlit oceans roll afar;
Broad lakes her azure heavens behold,
  Reflecting true each trembling star;
And mighty rivers, mountain born,
  Go sweeping onward, dark and deep,
Through forests where the bounding fawn
  Beneath their sheltering branches leap."

The first girl wrote: "In our country are large prairies covered with golden flowers."

"In the large clear lakes you can see the shadows of the clouds and the clear sky. Deep and dark are the rivers that flow through the beautiful mountains where the young fawn is bounding over the mountains under the beautiful green branches."

The girl drew the flower-dotted prairie, the clouds and the lakes, as the boy drew the disjointed details of the Struwwelpeter story in our April number (see p. 74). After completing her story, however, she grasped the details as a whole and drew a second picture. The symbolic details form a pretty mosaic that tells the whole story. The mountains, the river, the flower, the fruit-laden trees, the four little fish in the river and the fawn are so combined as to give a sense of a glad and happy country-side.

The second girl wrote the following composition: "In this field I can see a great many wild flowers, a tree and a large lake in which you can see many reflected pictures. Near by is a river, which flows between two high mountains, and through a forest, where a bounding fawn drinks its clear water."

The first girl's composition was superior to her drawing; the second girl draws better than she writes. No one can look at the little picture, with its girlish prettiness, without feeling that it is a genuine expression of the girl's life in terms of the stanza. Granting that self-expression is a help to growth one cannot help feeling that the two modes have been mutually helpful.

The point, however, that I want especially to emphasize, is that here pictorial representation has been kept in vital connection with thought, with poetry, and with the girl's own life. She knows something of art for she is an artist, in the sense in which everyone should be an artist. She should see pictures better than this one and should hear them commended, but a picture a little better than this will help her more than one by Raphael.

Art, religion and science come into every human life every hour of every day. It is well to recognize what we have and use it; then we shall grow into power to see something better. We do not need to bring art to children and to the slums as much as we need to have everyone open their eyes to the beautiful and use it in their lives. Then, we shall have the national condition that produces great artists.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. IV.

Robinson Crusoe.

"I should like to be like robsen and croso because he used to go out hunting in Afger and used to see the blackman fighting. Once he ser som blackman rostin one of their, brothere and, Robsen shot at then, and kild them all besested one that they was going to kil, and robsen croso keep him and named him frayday because he got him on frayday. and he used to help him and when robsen used to go out hunting frayday used to go with him and hulp him and when they were on a ship a lot of blackman came. and frayday went up to them and ask him whit they wanted. And the blackman shout ther haraw at him and kild him, and when robsed croso sor it he shat his gan at them and blew them to pestes and he felt very sad. But he got all right after a tam and he shat meny birds and live a happy life and he madey a nice wife and live hapy."—*By an English boy, nine years old.*

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

From the point of view of vigorous, straightforward narrative this version of De Foe's classic is all that one could ask from a nine-year-old boy. It is distinctly a boy's composition, full of the strenuous life so dear to our President and to Mr. Rudyard Kipling. Hunting, shooting blackmen and birds, rescuing the oppressed, and getting married crowd a brief life with activity.

The penmanship is good, so that each word and each punctuation mark is distinct. The boy knows what he wants to say, and he says it; but as a pedagogical specimen the little composition fills the teaching heart with grief and would give an outsider opportunity to raise difficult and interesting questions.

In the first place, he would raise the question whether it is not better that a boy of nine should be full of his subject and eager to express it, rather than that he should be full of forms of

expression. One cannot help feeling as he reads this story that the boy could not have both the eager desire to write, and what we ordinarily consider a proper respect for grammar, spelling and punctuation. This boy has some rudimentary respect for form, as we see by the way in which he inserts periods and commas here and there, by the way in which he occasionally reverts to capitals, and by his properly ending his story with a wife,—but his forms never get between him and his subject. They are like the clothes of South Sea Islanders,—reserved for Sunday service; and when they are put on they sometimes have funny relations to the body; and yet the body is more than the raiment.

It was after reading some thousands of papers from schools where the children had been educated to a proper sense of form that I came upon a bunch of papers from a London school, in which the relation of content to form is fairly represented by the specimen here printed. It was like falling into a little oasis on your way across Sahara. Of course, it would be better to have both good form and a living spirit; but for some reason one almost never does find both in nine-year-old compositions. In fact, any practical man in the street knows that if the boy had stopped when he reached "Friday" to remember that it began with a capital, and that it was spelled fri, and not fray, as he had always pronounced it, his interest in the story would have run away while he was getting frayday properly clothed. Is it not better to "shout" a "haraw" at "frayday" so that you can get on to where "robsen and croso" feels sad and shoots birds and marries a wife, rather than spell words correctly? Of course, he must learn to spell, and considering the size of the job, he cannot begin too early.

That the boy is ear-minded seems clear. He has evidently heard the story, and invented a form for re-telling it. He does not even bother to use the same form when he repeats a word in his story. "Help" becomes "hulp," and "shot," "shout," "shat" follow each other in quick succession. Of course, it is bad, and the mere fact that he kept on shooting, could not satisfy a conscientious teacher.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. IV.

Analysis of the Evidence.

Granting now that our compositions represent fairly well the children's point of view, how shall we extract that point of view from the papers? If we are to trace lines of growth, then the papers must be arranged in groups according to age, or else according to grade, class, or other school standing. In studying children's attitude toward subjects of the curriculum, it may be well to arrange the papers according to school standing. But in a subject like ideals, which touches the whole range of human life, classification by age seems to bring minds of the same development together, better than does a classification by grades. This raises the whole question as to whether our present classification of children in schools rests on knowledge and ability to think, or on the possession of a body of school information, but this is not the place to discuss the problem.

Let us, then, separate the boys' papers from the girls' papers and then sort each lot into packages according to ages. If we have plenty of papers it will be convenient to take one hundred of each age, in each sex, and discard the rest. This will give us returns on the basis of one hundred children and will save the trouble and danger of mistake incident to reducing tables to a percentage basis. If the hundreds required are taken directly from the top of each pile, one can avoid the danger of coloring results through unconscious selection.

Of course, it is true that the more papers one works over from children living under the same general conditions, the more perfect will be the generalizations reached. And yet there is a point beyond which adding papers does not materially strengthen generalization. This needed number will differ with different tests, but in this study on ideals the results reached with one hundred papers of each age of boys and girls are not materially changed by adding more papers.

Let us now take a bunch of papers by eleven-year-old boys and see into what groups the evidence can be analyzed. It is clear

that since our question reads: What person whom you have known, or of whom you have heard or read, would you most wish to be like? Why? we shall have two lists, the person chosen and the reason for choice. The first paper reads: "Columbus. Because he was brave to cross the ocean and he discovered the West Indies." Here we enter "Columbus" in the first list, and "brave" and "work accomplished" in the second. The second paper reads: "My grandfather. Because he has a farm." Here we enter "grandfather" and "has a farm." But does "has a farm" describe the reason why this boy wants to be like his grandfather? Our general knowledge of boys makes it doubtful if this is the real reason. It is far more probable that he has spent a summer vacation at the farm, and enjoyed the country life with its freedom, and that it is this which draws him rather than desire for wealth. And yet this is all surmise on our part, and if we begin to read our own experience of life into the evidence we shall simply analyze our own personality and tabulate the result. The only safe method is to accept our evidence on its face value. All the reason the boy gives for wanting to be like his grandfather is that he has a farm.

If we go through fifty papers in this way we shall have long lists of persons selected, and of reasons for choice, which can be classified into such groups as give promise of being significant.

The characters chosen fall easily into four main groups: "acquaintances," "contemporary great men," "historical characters," and "literary characters." Under "acquaintance" it seems well to keep out "father and mother," and "other relatives." Under "contemporaries" it may be well to keep "native" and "foreign" separate to see how far we are guided by our local ideals. Under "historic characters" besides "native" and "foreign," it would seem well to keep two or three characters most commonly named, say "Washington" and "Lincoln." Under "literary characters" it is hard to say what we ought to do with authors. They might be classified in other groups, but if we keep them separate under the heading "writers" they may as well be placed here as elsewhere. Longfellow and Shakespeare may well be kept out as special studies. "Native" and "foreign" characters, "fairies and myths," and "characters of romance" cover the lines that seem to promise returns.

In addition to these four groups of characters chosen it may be well to keep a separate list of those who make a religious choice, with sub-headings of "Bible characters" and "Deity;" another list may be kept of military heroes, though the same character may sometimes appear as "military" and sometimes as admired on other grounds. In another list we may enter those who want to be like some child; in still another, those who choose to be like the opposite sex from the writer; and in the last place a line may be set aside for those miscellaneous choices that we cannot otherwise classify.

If we turn now to the reasons given for the choice made, we find them very difficult to classify. A child lives in the external world; if we send him back into his own mind and ask him to describe its action, even to tell why it chose Washington instead of his father as an ideal, he comes back to us bewildered and perplexed and says: "Because he was good;" "Because I like him;" or, "Because he has a farm." Such returns are difficult to classify and have little value when classified. Still there are large groups in which the answers can be entered with some degree of certainty, and the results may be worth while when taken with other studies. The character chosen, however, is of greater value than the reason given for the choice.

Let us, then, prepare a sheet like the following, with convenient space to the right, divided off by vertical lines to accommodate the successive ages with which we are going to deal:

Name of student doing the work.
Test.
Place where collected.
Sex of writers of papers.
Ages..... 7 yrs. 8 yrs. 9 yrs. etc.
Number of papers.
Person chosen.
  Acquaintance.
    Father or mother.
    Other relative.
  Contemporary character.
    Native.
    Foreign.
  Historical character.

- Native.
- Foreign.
- Washington.
- Lincoln.
- Literary character.
  - Writers.
    - Longfellow.
    - Shakespeare.
  - Fairies and myths.
  - Characters from romance.
  - Native.
  - Foreign.
- Religion.
  - Bible characters.
  - Deity.
- Military characters.
- Child characters.
- Opposite sex chosen.
- Miscellaneous.

Reasons for choice.

- No reason given.
- Material possessions.
- Intellectual or artistic qualities.
- Position.
- Power to do things.
- Qualities of character.
- Desire to help others.
- Miscellaneous.

For convenience in collating, it is better to enter the statistics with regard to the boys on a separate collating sheet, and with an ink of different color, from that used for the girls. Each paper must now be analyzed and the items entered under the proper age, and opposite the proper heading. In the next issue I shall give such a table.

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS OF MEN AND WOMEN.

By Lena Partridge.

When children are drawing for their own amusement, they choose subjects full of strong human interest. They draw houses, boats, engines, or other objects connected with human activity; they even try to represent battles or scenes from their story-books. The feelings and doings of the human beings around them are of supreme importance to them; their welfare largely depends on their power to quickly interpret and respond to the grown-up point of view. Further, the human figure is the most familiar, as well as the most interesting object in the children's surroundings. According to the ideas of adults, the human figure is very difficult to represent in drawing and so children should avoid it; but children have the delightful courage of ignorance, and so they introduce men and women freely into all their pictures, often choosing them as the leading subject.

Huxley says in one of his essays when speaking of the relation of Greek art to that of Egypt and Assyria: "The human figure is the Shibboleth of Art." These words might be taken as the motto of this study. The human figure in art, like the old word Shibboleth in the story of long ago, supplies just that common and familiar, yet difficult and unmanageable subject which may be readily used by all, but which will yet test the artist, showing just where he belongs in the domain of art.

In taking the human figure as the subject for a study on children's drawings, I have felt that it might have several marked advantages: It is very familiar; it is a very attractive subject to children; a great variety of treatment is possible; and, it is not a subject which has been much taught in elementary schools; hence, the drawings will be fairly representative of native tendency.

In gathering the material for this study, each child was given a sheet of paper on which he wrote his name and age; he then drew the picture of a man, turned over the paper and drew the picture of a woman. The teachers and parents were requested to give no suggestions of any kind to the children.

More than 2,000 drawings were collected, most of them done in English elementary schools by children from three to thirteen years of age. One hundred drawings by boys and one hundred by girls of each age were studied. With the thirteen-year-old children, where the number of papers was insufficient, the results were raised to the basis of one hundred.

In collating this material, the drawings are grouped according to the age and sex of each child. For the general conclusions given in this paper, the boys' and girls' papers are massed together, though they were worked over separately. For the common characteristics of the human being here discussed, the drawing of the man only is taken. The classification is based upon an examination of the following points:

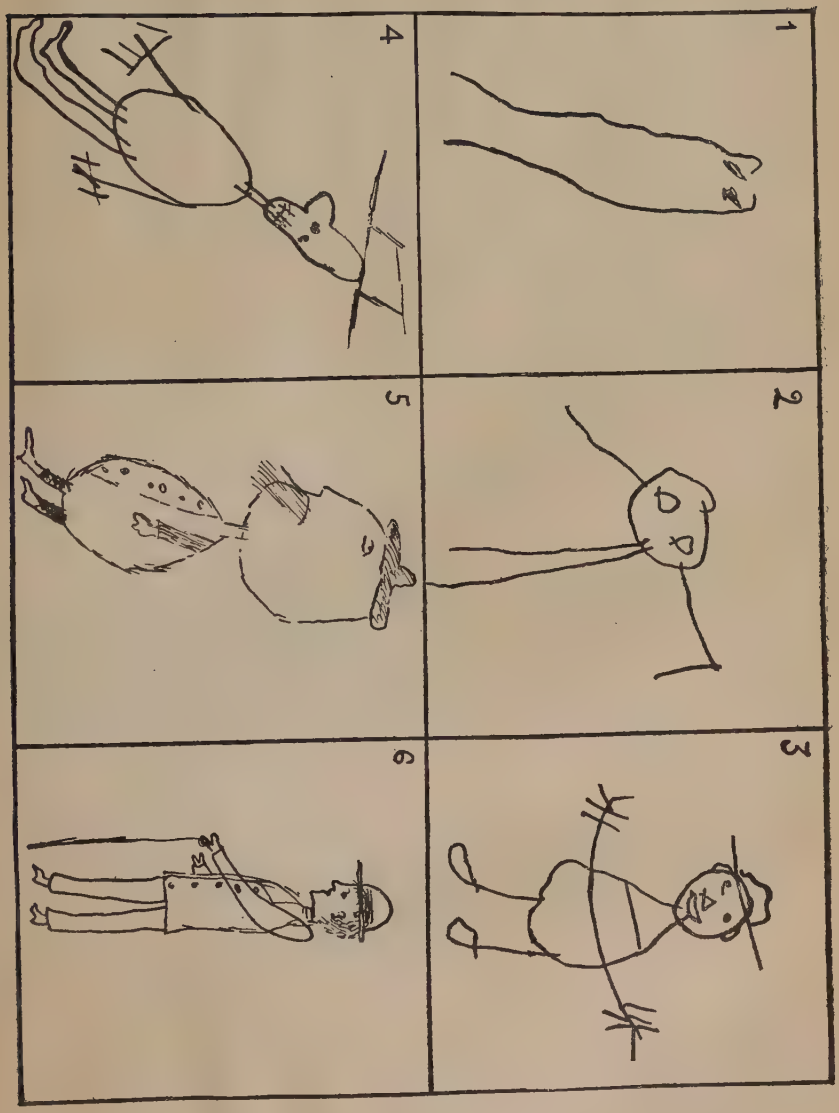
1. The presence or absence of certain parts of the human figure.

2. The mode of representing the parts, with single or double strokes, completely or incompletely.

3. The direction in which the figure, or parts of the figure were turned in the drawings.

4. The attention given to clothes, and the distinction between man and woman.

Before taking up the quantitative results of the study, let us examine in a general way the stages through which man and woman develop in the drawings by children at successive ages. The figures 1 to 6 have been selected to illustrate these general steps in development. Even babies delight in a pencil and in something on which to scribble and scratch. This pleasure is partly muscular, it is not so much the drawing produced, as the joy of the mere movement that pleases. Later, these scribbles may be given a name; a tangle of lines will be called "Daddy," if there arises the wish to draw Daddy. By the time the children are four years old, only 12 per cent. of them still draw these indistinguishable scribbles.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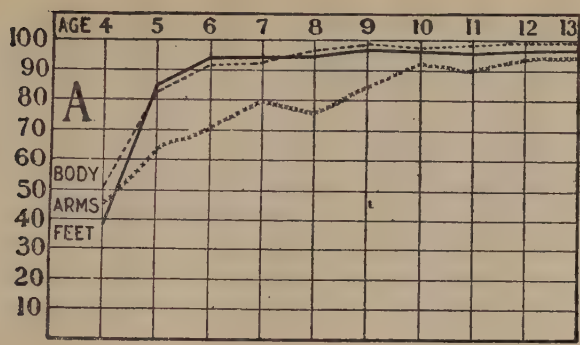
With the emergence of some definite form, man, as represented in children's drawings, seems almost to reproduce the stages of his organic development. He begins as a cell-like shape, a mere rough circle, or even a tangle of lines, without limbs or features. At the earliest stage he is indistinguishable from dog or cat, or indeed from anything else the artist may wish to represent. Soon limbs appear and the egg stage merges into the tadpole stage. The rough circle has two or more strokes drawn from it, and man starts into recognizable existence as head and legs, possibly with some blobs for eyes or other features. This form gradually becomes more complex, and a superfluity of limbs or features may develop. But from these stages he emerges as unmistakably a human being with the correct assortment of limbs and features.

This individual is at first a full-face man drawn in single lines and unclothed. Gradually, as the artists grow older, he is turned into a profile man; arms and legs are double lined, and clothes and ornaments appear.

If we now turn to our quantitative results, we are struck by the regular and clearly marked progress which the drawings show from year to year. There is distinct development in the children's representation of a man. We should, of course, expect that a child of ten would draw a man better than a child of five; but we see here that the improvement moves by consecutive steps, which correspond closely with the years that intervene. It is even possible to predict with remarkable precision the sort of improvement one may expect to find appearing in the years between five and ten.

Our first charts show the percentage of children, who at each age draw or omit certain particulars. First, let us see what proportion of the children draw these very essential parts of the human anatomy, the body, feet and arms:

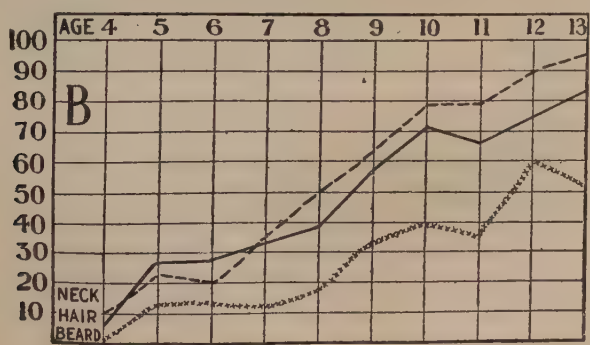
Ages	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Body drawn:	50%	82%	92%	93%	98%	99%	98%	99%	100%	100%
Feet drawn:	39%	83%	92%	93%	94%	98%	98%	97%	98%	98%
Arms drawn:	45%	67%	71%	80%	76%	85%	93%	90%	95%	95%



We see that many of the little ones do not trouble in any way to represent the body, feet, or arms of their man. He is, as we saw, composed of head and legs. Body and feet are soon indicated in some way, but arms are more often neglected.

Our second chart gives three lines showing the increasing attention that other parts of the man receive:

Ages	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Neck	8%	22%	20%	37%	51%	63%	79%	79%	90%	93%
Hair	6%	26%	27%	32%	38%	58%	70%	65%	73%	82%
Beard	1%	12%	15%	12%	18%	34%	40%	36%	60%	51%



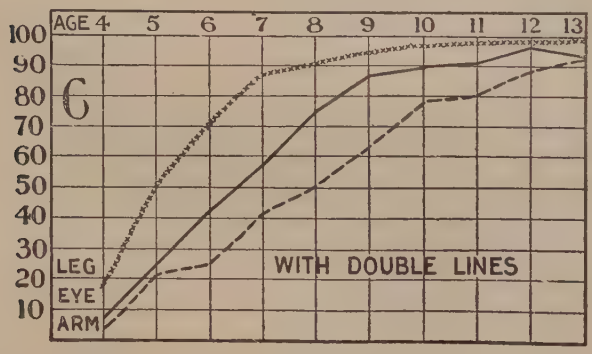
With the little ones, when the man is so fortunate as to have any body, his head rests on his trunk or shoulders, with no indication of a neck. It is not until after the artists are eight years old

that half their men have necks. Hair seems very easy to draw in the way children represent it, yet it is not considered necessary by the little children, so their man is left bald. More than half the men are thus drawn by the children below nine years of age.

A mere catalogue, however, of the parts of a man drawn by the children can give little idea of his development; not only does the number of parts increase, but also the way in which they are depicted shows a well-defined and regular progress. At first all the parts are drawn with single strokes, or one scratch of the pencil; as the children grow older the tendency is all towards greater complexity.

Chart C gives three lines showing how a few of the limbs and features thus become elaborated: The percentages run:

Ages . .	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Legs double line:	17%	51%	73%	88%	90%	95%	97%	98%	99%	100%
Arms double line:	6%	23%	25%	42%	50%	63%	79%	80%	89%	91%
Eyes, two or more parts:	9%	25%	42%	58%	77%	87%	90%	90%	97%	92%



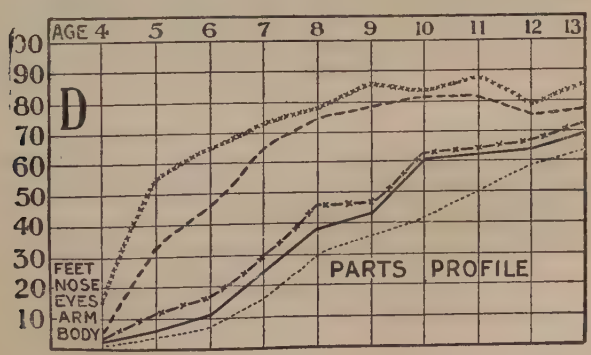
The legs are soon drawn with double lines; the way in which the feet are represented also passes through clear stages. The arms are not so quickly given solidity, they continue longer as mere sticks, but after eight years of age the majority of the children draw the arms with two lines. The early form of the eyes is a simple blob or dot, made with one "go" of the pencil.

There seems to be a steadily growing wish to show the parts of an eye; it may be eye and eyelid, or eye and eyebrow; this leads to a more advanced form having two or more parts; most commonly it is a dot with curves above and below.

There is yet another tendency, shown by our young artists, which affects the appearance of the man even more than increase of detail, or elaboration of treatment. This is his change of position. At first the simple, crude, early man is drawn full-face in all his parts, but in every year of advancing age there is a tendency to turn certain limbs and features to the right.

Chart D shows how this is progressing through the ages:

Ages . .	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Feet profile:	15%	54%	66%	73%	78%	87%	83%	88%	79%	85%
Nose profile:	6%	34%	46%	65%	76%	79%	81%	81%	77%	76%
Arms profile:	1%	5%	11%	24%	39%	42%	61%	64%	65%	70%
Eyes and mouth profile:	2%	11%	16%	31%	46%	47%	61%	64%	68%	71%
Body profile:	1%	5%	7%	16%	30%	36%	41%	50%	59%	62%



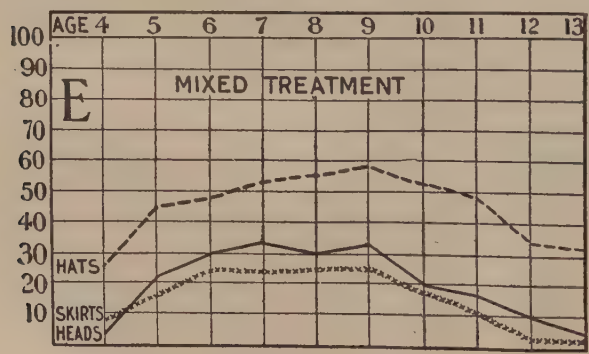
First his feet turn; then his nose gets stuck on the side of his still roundish head. His arms are not in a hurry to follow his feet and nose; they may still be extended on each side of his per-

son; in more than half the cases it is so until the children are ten years of age.

The body is always somewhat neglected; it seems to be looked upon chiefly as a convenient space to adorn with buttons, and on which to hang the limbs. When the buttons are arranged down one side of the body, even if the shape is still the equal sided oval, I call the body profile, and with this liberal interpretation, the body still very slowly takes a sideways position; not until the children are eleven years old do they draw half the bodies so that they can possibly be called profile. Of the total number of bodies drawn, only 40 per cent. can be reckoned as profile, while 85 per cent. of the feet are turned sideways. The whole man as drawn by a majority of the children, even at thirteen, can hardly be described as a perfect profile in all his parts, yet the tendency is all towards that position for their man.

The turning from full-face to profile passes through a stage which is best described as mixed. The percentages are:

Ages . .	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Mixed heads:	4%	23%	30%	34%	30%	32%	19%	17%	10%	5%
Hats transparent:	26%	46%	49%	54%	55%	58%	52%	49%	33%	32%
Skirts transparent:	9%	14%	22%	22%	23%	24%	18%	11%	2%	2%



On Chart E is a line for these mixed heads; if this is compared with the line for the profile nose on Chart D, it will be seen that until eight years of age, more than half the attempts at profiles are really drawn in this confused manner; this treatment steadily decreases after nine years of age. It may arise from the desire to show in the picture all the parts thought of; the child also draws single parts and then forgets to make the other parts correspond.

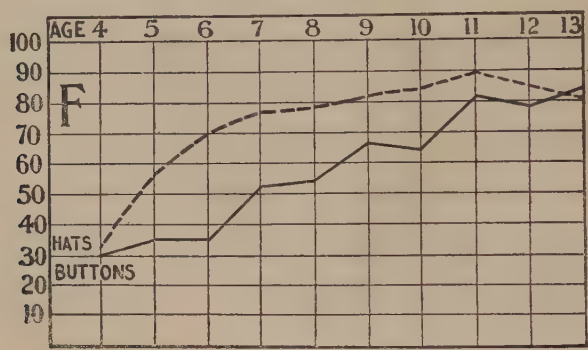
This confusion is shown again in the way in which the hats are drawn; often the artists allow the head to be seen through them; sometimes the hats are apparently suspended in the air above the heads; in more than half the cases until the children are twelve years old the hat allows the whole head to be seen. This style of treatment affects other parts of the clothing; skirts, when they are first drawn, allow the woman's legs to be seen; even the pocket, and the contents of the pocket, may be shown. Sleeves and trousers too may be drawn transparent, and the buttons on the coat will show through the arms.

There are many details which cannot be shown on our charts, and yet they are characteristic of the children's drawings. The sense of proportion is undeveloped in children; they draw the parts and features much too large or too small; we find big eyes, a mouth full of formidable grinning teeth, hands fringed with huge fingers on the end of mere stick-like arms, as well as heads too big and limbs too small. The position of the parts causes some difficulty; the arms often start from the neck, or even from the head, or half-way down the body; they may both be drawn lying across the would-be profile body. One in every ten of the total number of drawings has arms drawn in this way. The eyes drawn very high in the head is another characteristic that makes the children's drawings look so disproportioned.

"It is characteristic," says Dr. Hoernes in writing on Primitive Man, "that in man's primitive condition clothing was less the outcome of the necessity of protection from exterior influences or of considerations of modesty than of his desire for ornament." In this, as in much else, the child reproduces the earlier stages of the race. The little children's drawings of man and woman are unclothed, but not unadorned; more than half the bodies drawn

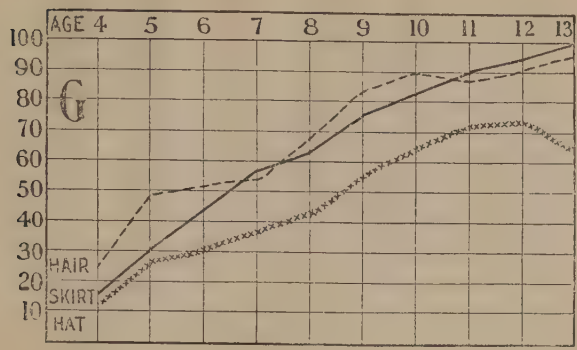
by the little ones are decorated with buttons; and the heads have something that is meant for a hat. The numbers run as follows:

Ages	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Hats	32%	57%	59%	76%	78%	81%	84%	89%	85%	80%
Buttons	30%	37%	37%	52%	55%	66%	64%	81%	79%	83%



There is a further use for clothes in the drawings besides that of ornament; they serve to distinguish the sexes. With the majority of the little children there is no distinction made between man and woman; they are drawn simply as human beings; later, differences appear. The woman may be given a skirt, hair, or trimming in her hat; only occasionally, and with the older children, is there any difference in shape. The skirt, at first, may be represented by mere scribble over the legs, or by a triangular enclosure; it does not, as we saw, conceal the legs. Chart G shows how regular is the increasing attention given to the skirt from four years of age to thirteen:

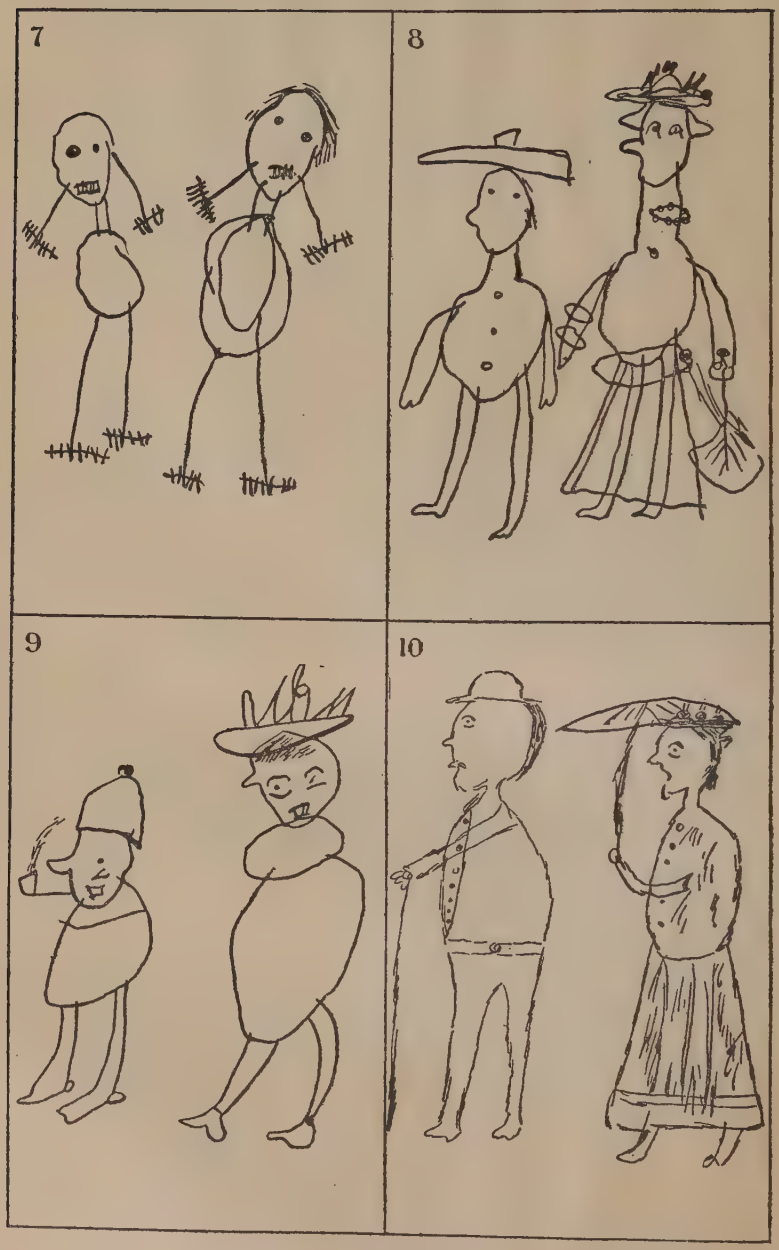
Ages	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Woman's hair:	24%	49%	52%	55%	68%	83%	90%	87%	90%	96%
Woman's skirt:	16%	29%	42%	56%	63%	77%	82%	91%	93%	99%
Trimming on hat:	14%	28%	30%	36%	42%	55%	63%	71%	73%	66%



It will also be noticed that the line for "woman's hair" though running parallel with that for "man's hair" on Chart B, is yet all along much higher; the woman more often has hair than the man, and she has it in greater abundance. The woman can often be recognized by the queer things sticking up in her hat to represent trimming. Figures 7 to 10 show something of the treatment of the sexes. Clothes, apart from decoration, or to distinguish man from woman, are of little importance to children under ten years of age. Later, coats and trousers and various styles of dress are given.

So far we have taken the children in the mass, boys and girls together; when we separate them we find that the percentages are but very slightly altered. Boys are generally a little in advance of girls, age for age; their representation of a man is on the whole more accurate; but the differences are small, and in no case do they affect the lines of tendency here presented. Boys seem to be more observant than girls and this makes it strange that boys more often than girls omit the arms of their man. With the younger children the percentage is the same for boys and girls; viz. 31 per cent; but with the children over eight years of age, 11 per cent. of the boys and only 5 per cent. of the girls forget the arms. This means that one man in every ten drawn by the boys of nine to thirteen years of age, has no arms, he may be given stick or sword, and have much added detail, and still the arms be entirely neglected.

As a supplement to this study of children's drawings of man and woman, I collected a small number of portraits drawn by chil-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dren, with the idea of testing how far they might have been influenced by any figure that they chanced to have before them when drawing the man and woman. Children in three different schools drew the model, and the point of view of each child was noted. There were one hundred boys and one hundred girls, their ages ranging from seven to thirteen, though the numbers for each age were not regular. These are too few for any decided generalization, but taken in connection with the larger study they are interesting.

The first thing one notices in these portraits is that the position in which they see the model has little influence on the attitude represented by the children under eleven years of age. Of the hundred girls, twenty-three drew what I have called, the "mixed head," that is the profile nose with two eyes and a full-face mouth. This strange form could not have been seen from any point of view.

The general characteristics of the children's drawings of a human figure are shown in the portraits. The younger children omit the neck; draw the early type of eye and foot; the feet are turned sideways while the body is full-face, both regardless of the position of the model. They make no attempt to show that the model was sitting; but the woman is drawn standing, as they would have represented her had there been no sitter. Thirty-five of the two hundred children do not draw any skirt and of those who do represent it, thirty-one make it transparent, that is with the legs showing through it, as in Figure 12.

All this does not mean that the model has no influence on the drawings; on the contrary, many details are carefully observed; certain facts about the sitter are told with great emphasis. That she wore a hat with feathers is told by one hundred and eighty-one of the children; evidently it is one of the most interesting things about her, second only to the hat itself, which is omitted by only ten children. The little ones of eight to ten years old try to tell about the rings on her fingers, and the little bright buckle at the side of the hat; but they exaggerate them very much. These details seem to attract the little boys even more than the little girls; forty-six boys record the buckle and thirty-five the rings; while only fifteen and ten, respectively, of the girls give these details.

Considering the neglect of the arms, which is shown in the man and woman study, it is curious to notice how the children try to show that the model had her hands clasped in her lap; seventy-six of the boys show it and twenty-four of the girls. It is drawn in all sorts of grotesque ways but there is evidently the wish to notice it. Only two of the children omit the arms altogether.

Figures 11 to 14 are four of the two hundred portraits and show something of the possibilities to which such a subject may give rise. Number 14 is a very clever drawing by a boy eleven years old; it shows very well how the model was sitting.

Number 11 is by a boy eight years old; he is impressed by the rings and carefully places them on the correct fingers, the feathers in the hat are indicated; but the poor lady has no skirt and a nose too many.

Number 12 is by a girl of nine, who was looking at the model full-face; here the transparency of various parts is fully carried out. Every detail is noted, rings, buckle, feathers, spotted necktie, eye, nose, mouth, chin.

Number 13 is put in a frame, which I believe represents the dais on which the model's chair was placed; it is shown in some way by fifty-nine of the children. This is drawn by the sister of No. 11, a girl ten years old.

This study of children's drawings enables us to make a few generalizations:

In the first place, the treatment of the human figure in the drawings shows a regular and ordered development and the stages are clear and well marked. This would seem to agree with the development of the child's powers and the growth of his mind; hence, the drawing of this familiar object would serve as a rough test of the place the child had reached in his development.

In the next place, the study indicates that the child begins with few and simple notions of things, which increase and become more complex. The pictures show that the increasing detail is at first incongruous and disproportioned; later, the child gains some power of selecting and arranging the parts; then, he does not attempt to tell all he knows about the object, but selects and rejects, choosing the salient features. Before that stage is reached, the child attempts to record anything that interests him, he does not begin by selecting the easy things and leaving the more diffi-

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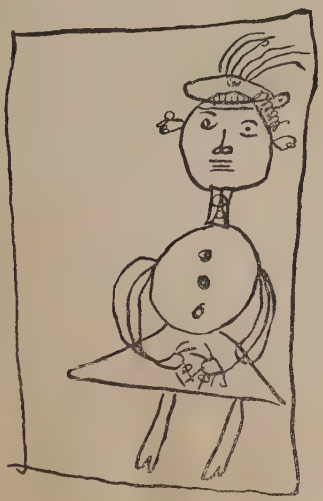

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cult till later; ease and difficulty do not seem to enter at all into the child's thinking when he begins to draw. This illustrates the fragmentary nature of the child's thinking, the readiness to attack things, coupled with slight power of concentration.

This study also emphasizes the child's absorbing interest in detail; his weak sense of proportion makes him exaggerate those parts that appeal to him; hence, the record of his observations is often incorrect and misleading.

The change from single lines to double lines seems to show the child's growing sense of solidity, and marks some attempt at giving three dimensions. The increase of detail is due to the richer content of the older child's mind; and the ordering and selecting of the detail shows the beginnings of deliberation and forethought in the older child.

The change from full-face to profile is more difficult to explain; it has been said that it arises because it is easier to draw in profile when imitation of the original is desired. The early full-face man is ideogrammatic, the profile imitative. This may be a correct explanation of the adult's choice, but this study shows most clearly that ease and difficulty do not enter into the young child's calculations when selecting subjects for his drawings. The portraits emphasize this fact, and the drawings of man and woman show that the profile tendency begins in certain parts of the figure before there is any sign of accurate imitation of the original. The profile grows piece-meal; here a nose, there feet, later, eyes and mouth; if the profile scheme were chosen because of its ease, this would be difficult to explain. I believe that with the child the chief and strongest reasons, both for the choice of what shall be drawn and for the way in which it shall be depicted, are the amount of interest it excites and the character of the object that happens to strike the child. The line of thought does not run,—this position is easier and looks more like a man; but rather,—the feet both go the same way, the nose is a thing that sticks out, the arms stretch out on each side. The child's logic, not artistic feeling, guides him here. Drawing and pictures are to the child a language; drawing is description not representation; he draws a thing because he wants to tell about it; if he wants to tell you that the man's nose sticks out on the side of his head, he will do so; but he will not,

until he is nine or ten years old, draw the profile position because he can thus best represent a man.

This study should throw some light on the vexed question of teaching drawing. If to the child drawing is description not representation, he will try to tell you with his pencil about the object, he will not look at it to see its lines and form, but in order to describe it. If the object does not interest him, of course he will not care to describe it; cubes and cones, free-hand flat copies and stiff landscapes will probably not arouse the right sort of interest. Even when the object is attractive, his description with his pencil will be crude and faulty, he will want to tell of the insignificant details; the beauty of the form will be lost; but if the child is allowed to use drawing for what it really expresses for him, his powers of observation, and even his æsthetic feelings may be cultivated. Drawing would often prove a readier means than writing, or even speaking, of getting at what is really in the child's mind, and it could be used in much of the school work.

In this way it might be possible in time for children to realize the truth of Tolstoi's dictum, that "Art like speech is a means of communication. By words man interchanges thoughts, by the forms of Art he interchanges feelings."

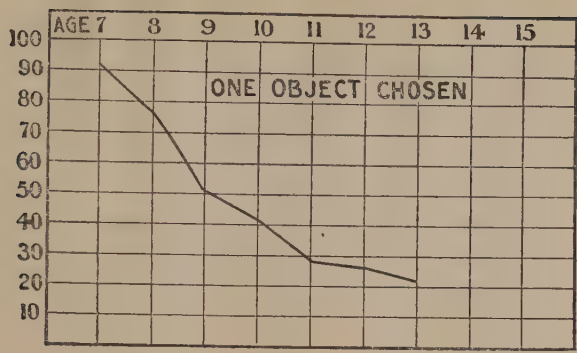
THE PRETTIEST THING.*

The following study is based on seven hundred papers written by the girls in the Board Schools of London in response to the direction: Describe the prettiest thing you have ever seen, and say why you thought it pretty. The writers were evenly distributed between the ages of seven and thirteen. The test was given its very comprehensive form in the hope that it might throw some light on the standard of beauty which exists in children's minds, and might help to trace the growth of that standard up to our own.

The first thing that impresses the student working with these papers is the fact that the young children describe as the most beautiful thing they remember some single object, like a flower, a toy, a fan, or a doll. As the children grow older, they substitute a garden for a flower, a Christmas tree for a toy, and a costume for a fan. This fact is, of course, well known to all students of the mind. Young students are interested in details, and they turn from one to another without realizing their larger composite relations. The unit may in itself be very complex, like a brass band, but the young child sees it only as a glittering, noisy unit, or he sees parts of it as units. Later in life he will, by alternate analyses and syntheses, come to see it as a collection of individuals playing different instruments with different degrees of skill, and yet all rendering one composition. If we classify all the things chosen, we find that these simple, single objects are chosen by 91 per cent. of the children at seven years of age, and that the proportion grows smaller as the children advance in years:

Ages . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	91%	76%	53%	43%	29%	27%	22%

* This test was originally suggested by one of my fellow-students in California. In 1900-1901, it was given to children in various Board Schools in London, and packages of papers were worked over by Miss Mary Drury and Miss Mabel Wright, by Mr. J. C. Hudson and by Miss Emily Bodel. The work of Miss Drury was presented as an essay which received the Honours' Sessional Certificate of the London Society and was published in the University Extension Journal for December, 1901. The present paper is based on independent study, but I have freely used the work of my fellow-students; and Miss S. Young has helped directly in its preparation.



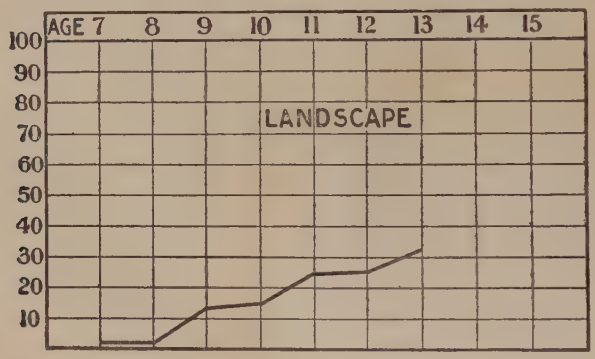
Since this law holds so strongly here it follows that in cultivating the sense of the beautiful, as in cultivating the power to think, our approach to the child must be in connection with single, simple things. He must see the beauty of a plant before he sees the beauty of a landscape; and he will admire the flower before he admires the plant.

Turning now to the classification of the things named by the children as pretty, we find that a good many children give alternative or mixed choices, so that 65 per cent. of them name natural objects and 69 per cent. name things made by man as among the prettiest things they have seen. Personally, I should have thought that, with children, artificial objects would have received a much larger share of admiration for their beauty than is shown by the results of this comparison.

Three per cent. of the older girls declare that Nature is most beautiful, without specifying any particular instance. The sky, or its sun, moon, stars and rainbows, are selected by 5 per cent. of the 700. Human beings are singled out by only 4 per cent. of the writers, and they generally restrict their admiration to babies. Animals, birds and insects are specified by 15 per cent. of the girls, birds being especially admired. Plants and flowers are selected for admiration by twenty-two out of a hundred who choose, roses and lilies being especially attractive. In all, 37 per cent. choose flowers, plants, animals or birds, thus seeming to bear out the statement in our last number that pets are an important factor, not only in the cultivation of the social sense, but in the cultivation of the sense of beauty as well.

Those larger combinations of natural objects that we call landscape appeal but little to the younger girls; but the admiration grows steadily with advancing years, thus corroborating our earlier statement that children's admiration gathers at first around single objects and then goes out to more complex wholes. The proportion choosing landscape runs:

Ages . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	1%	1%	14%	15%	24%	25%	31%



The history of the evolution of art and literature shows that landscape as a primary artistic motive is of comparatively late development. In pictorial art, at first, it is only an unimportant and quaintly portrayed background for the human story which occupies the artist's attention. In classic literature, the earth cultivated and enriched by man's labor, is beautiful, but the earth, lonely, waste and wild is simply terrible. Landscape as treated by Turner or Tennyson, would have been inconceivable to Greek and Latin poets, or even to the painters of the Renaissance.

The reason for this does not seem difficult to trace. The earth must first supply the wherewithal to eat and must lose its terror for man before he can regard it with the artist's disinterested and intelligent gaze. In addition to all this, man must first learn to interpret his own consciousness, to recognize his moods of hope, fear, joy, melancholy and to express them in language, before he can project his soul into the inanimate world about him

and feel that mysterious relation with Nature which is voiced in so much of modern literature. To some degree all this is true of the individual. To the young child, the loveliest scene in forest, or by lake or sea, is but a convenient background for his favorite activities. His admiration is called forth by the extent of space for running about, by the opportunities for hide and seek, or for digging. The large majority of the writers of these papers from seven to ten years of age are of this type. A wild rose is to them a pretty thing, but the wood where it was gathered is simply a playground.

Next come the writers who do choose some feature of landscape as representing their idea of beauty. The following is typical, written by a girl of ten: "The prettiest thing I have seen is a cornfield in the summer time, the corn shone like gold, the pretty red poppies and the golden corn were waving about in the bright sunshine and the cool breezy air." This is a simple landscape unit, a single cornfield, and the elements selected for description are few and include such obvious attributes as bright color and motion.

Later, the scene that has attracted the writer is more complex; there is an evident comprehension of a composite whole made up of a number of harmoniously blended parts—there is more sensitiveness to subtle effects of light and shade and color, more use of words primarily descriptive of human attributes and feelings and by association applied to description of Nature:

"The prettiest thing I have ever seen," writes a girl of fourteen, "was the Glen at Lover's Seat at Hastings. I was fourteen years of age when I saw it. Standing with my back to Lover's Seat I looked over the side of the cliff into the Glen. The tide was high and gently lapping the sides of the cliff, where grew some beautiful shrubs and moss. The sky was beautifully blue, and the sea reflected the same color, the sun was hot and a good way out was a little fishing-smack with beautiful white sails rocking idly on the lovely blue sea and I stood there enchanted for about ten minutes. I should have liked then and there to have taken my paints and painted it."

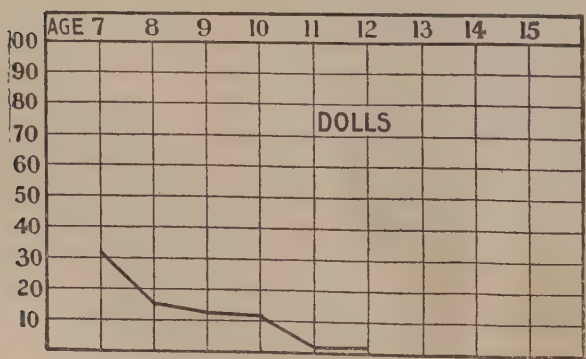
In none of these papers do we find evidence of all that even a simple scene such as a wood in springtime means to the cultivated adult intelligence. Experience of life, communing with the

poets, a thousand forces of suggestion and association are necessary for this, and they can come only with the years. But, meantime, the child can be helped in his growth.

Selection of reading material which does not too far anticipate the experience of the growing mind will help to stimulate later development. Shelley's *Cloud* and Ruskin's tribute to the grass will reveal much that was invisible without their guidance. By such help, even a big city with only sunsets and storm clouds and the trees budding in the park will afford much culture material for a consciousness slowly awakening to the beauty of the natural world.

If we turn now to the things made by man, we find that 32 per cent. of the seven year old girls choose a doll as the most beautiful thing they know. No other group of things gets a following of more than 10 per cent. "The prettyis thing I have seen," says a girl of eight, "is a lovely doll it is dressed in silk its face was very pretty I think its very pretty because it has lovely golden hair all curly I love dolls when they are dressed so nice and when they have nice hair." As with the pets, so with the dolls, we have long known that they were very important centers in the development of social instincts, but we had not realized that they were also the most important centers for developing a sense of beauty. The choice of dolls by the different ages runs:

Ages . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	32%	16%	12%	11%	1%	1%	0%



From this, we see that as a center for developing a sense of beauty, dolls are more valuable at seven than at any later age, and they cease to play an important part after the girl is ten.

Other toys are comparatively unimportant as centers of highest admiration, being mentioned by only 2 per cent. of the girls.

Clothes are mentioned as the prettiest thing by 7 per cent. of the writers, most often in connection with dolls. We know that as girls grow older they have a great admiration for clothes, but there seems almost always to be something else in the world which they consider prettier. Only two or three of the seven hundred girls agree with the one of thirteen who says that the prettiest thing that she has ever seen "is a white mousline skirt all covered with drawn white satin baby ribbon. The ribbon represented different flowers upon the mousline such as an iris, a rose, or a marquirite. It had a long train at the back all covered with baby ribbon. The bodice had a transparent yoke all trimmed with the ribbon."

Jewels and personal ornaments were named by 4 per cent. of the girls, and for the most part these were rubies and diamonds.

Beautiful articles of use or luxury, such as pianos, furniture or gramophones, articles that are not simply objects of art, are described by 6 per cent. of the children. One would expect to find in this group large numbers of the ornamental doilies, pillow-shams, wire picture frames and scroll-saw boxes that fill our houses and give outlet to the higher artistic ambitions of the democracy. There were, however, very few such objects named.

There was one girl who thought that the prettiest thing that she had ever seen was "a small looking-glass with all kinds of pretty shells round it, on the side were little shelves they also had the same kinds of shells on them, in the center of the looking-glass was another shelf, this shelf was the best one it had shells on it of every kind both large and small. Round the top and bottom of the looking was decarated with pretty shells." And yet, says the girl, "you could see yourselfes through the looking-glass quite plain."

A person who has reached some considerable degree of development in his sense of the beautiful has the same feeling for these artistic horrors that a college senior has for the tin horn

he blew with such gusto as a freshman two years before, and for the same reason. We cannot abide our out-grown selves.

A still worse, because more artificial art product, is a make-believe harp adored by a girl of thirteen. "This harp was made of rice. The strings were covered with tinsel. The frame was made of plain wood, then glue put all over it and little pieces of rice stuck on." And yet this harp was so frankly a fraud, incapable of producing sound, that it seems thoroughly respectable compared with two fans admired by a girl of twelve. These had been made by her cousin for one of her uncles "who was going to get married. She bought two fans covered all the front with white wool pressed out some pretty leaves and layed them on the wool bought some tincel and worked them up and down until they were finished."

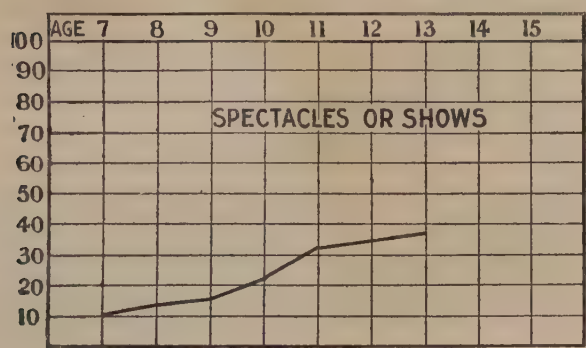
These are indeed creations to fill an artist with despair, but I am inclined to think that if the artificial harp and the looking-glass in which you could still see yourself in spite of its shell ornaments, were home-made, they may have called out self-activity and established a real standard of comparison for all art work.

The most important line of development connected with things made by man gathers around spectacles and shows. The most primitive people we know surround the great events of war, birth, coming of age, marriage, induction into office and death with ceremonial. This ceremonial is made appealing and imposing through the use of all the arts of construction, decoration, composition, recitation, music and motion. From the snake dance of the Moquis to the coronation of King Edward VII., the spectacle, or show, has called out all the artistic powers, not only of the artists who direct, but of the whole social group that participates. Each must add something of color, brightness, movement or sound; and each admires or criticises all the rest. So powerful is the influence of these spectacles that some authorities say they have created or called into action all the arts we know.

Nothing is more striking in this study on London children than their steadily growing feeling that in the spectacle they have touched their highest experience of beauty. These shows include the Victorian Jubilee; the Lord Mayor's Show; the fêtes to raise war funds; the Crystal Palace with its marvels of light and move-

ment; Christmas tree and other festivals; and above all, the theatrical pantomimes for children, presented with such magnificence at Drury Lane Theater. It is true that the children who wrote our papers live at the greatest center of the world's population, and at a time when political and war festivals have been much in evidence; but one who has had experience of the countryside cannot doubt that the drawing power of the spectacle is as strong there as in the city. The proportion of the London children who chose the spectacle at each age is:

Ages . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	10%	14%	16%	22%	33%	34%	36%



But it is not only on the quantitative side that the importance of the spectacle impresses one who reads these papers. The children describe the show with an elaboration of detail and a wealth of exclamatory appreciation that is not called out by any other form of art. Alice of seven years says she "once went to the pantomime and saw the fairies flying in the air. But the prettiest of all was the middle one with the wreath of flowers around her."

May of eleven says that the prettiest thing "is the Crystal Palace, where you see almost anything. The pretty gardens and grounds, the animals and waterfalls the Dog shows and the fireworks and a great number of more things."

A girl three years older feels the same charm but feels it as a more organic whole: "I think the prettiest sight I have ever seen

was last year at the Crystal Palace in the evening when the grounds were illuminated with fairy lights and the various colored electric fountains were playing. As I looked down on all the lights amongst the trees it made me feel as though I was in fairy land."

With the older girls, especially, you feel how vivid and complete the impressions remain. "The year before last," says one of the girls, "I went to see Dick Whittington at The Adefie and I thought that his dream was quite the prettiest part. When he went to sleep on Highgate Hill all the back sceenery was taken away only leaving the trees in front. At the back a large Archway and the head and shoulders of a camel poking through. A man brought in two cushions and the king and Queen came in and sat crosslegged on them, and heaps of dancing began. First about 20 women came in dressed in blue and gold and 20 in red and gold, holding wreaths of flowers over their heads came in from different sides, and marched round in and out waving their wreaths, then ten little boys ran in and stood still making arches with their swords. Then everyone went to the side and a great gauze curtain came down and a lot of fairys dressed in purple ringing tiny silver bells. Then behind the curtain a fairy came flying down and began to sing—'Turn again to Whittington! Lord Mayor of London.' then all the people came round Dick who was asleep and cried 'Turn again Whittington Lord Mayor of London.' Then while the bells were still ringing they all danced out."

That undeveloped minds are charmed and even captivated by spectacular and dramatic scenes is no new discovery. The tyrants of all times have used shows to win the love of the people, and to indoctrinate them with ideas favorable to the rule of the despot. Even the unimaginative Romans could not resist the games and pageants of the Cæsars. The Mediæval Church through masques and miracle plays spread its teachings and strengthened its power. Modern empires seek to unify sentiment and overawe their subjects with jubilees and coronations; and the political parties of a democracy seek to win votes for the presidential candidates by processions, floats, illuminations, uniforms and music. In the management of politics we recognize this great power; in the school we almost entirely ignore it.

The reactions of the Protestant Reformation against church ceremonial, and of the French Revolution against court ceremonial, have left a deep distrust of the drama as a means of education and educational control. But as McDonald says: "The way to make a thing, which is not bad in itself, bad, is for good people never to do it." The dramatic and spectacular line of approach to a child's ideas and ideals stands ever open, and the home and school should learn how to use it well.

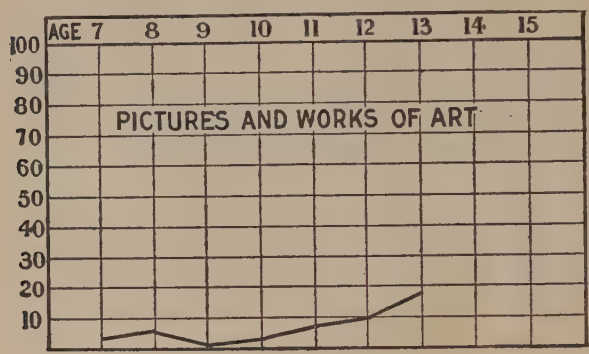
Closely allied to spectacles in their power to awaken admiration are the town, the resort, the museum or the palace. These all have great charms as we know for simple minds, but they do not appear strongly in this study; the percentages are:

Ages . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	3%	2%	3%	10%	7%	7%	10%

Buildings, as such, almost never appeal to the children as the most beautiful of objects. Even when the child starts to describe the building she quickly turns to its contents. "The prettiest thing I have seen is the Westminster Abbey," says a girl of twelve. "Its magnificent number of spires render it a very pretty building. It is very well built, and so large that it must have cost a large sum of money to build. It contains very many graves of great men and many a crown of a queen or king. It also has very pretty services held there and it is a great sight to go to visit it."

In our conscious efforts to develop the sense of beauty in children, and in adults who are on the childish plane, we depend largely on works of art, among which we count pictures most important. It is a very significant fact that only 7 per cent. of our seven hundred girls mention these as the most attractive things they know. This is still more striking when we remember that the girls were attending schools where constant effort was made to develop their feeling for the beautiful through the use of pictures; and that they were all living in a city which abounds in free and beautiful art galleries. The number who select these works of art at the successive ages is:

Ages . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	4%	5%	2%	4%	9%	10%	17%



Not only are pictures seldom mentioned, but when they are it is not the beauty of form, or color, or composition that is remarked upon, but the beauty of the story that is told by the picture. A girl of twelve illustrates this tendency to see stories in pictures. She says the prettiest thing she knows is a "picture of two ragged children in front of a large iron bared gate through which they could see a lady and a little girl garthering flowers and the lady went into the house to fetch them some nice warm tea and warm clothes. And then she came out again to fetch them and asked them if they had any more sisters or brothers, and the children told her they had a sister who was very ill. Then the lady sent them home and gave them some nice thing and nourishing food for the invalid."

From this study it would seem that pictures can be easily overestimated as a means of cultivating æsthetic appreciation, and that when they are used with simple minds, the story told outweighs many times over any excellence of execution the work may have.

The great majority of the children, 67 per cent. at seven years old, and 26 per cent. at thirteen years old, make no attempt to tell why they consider the thing pretty which they mention. When they do make the attempt, as many as 20 per cent., 30 per cent., or at some ages even 40 per cent. content themselves with saying that it is pretty because they like it, or because it is beautiful. Even an intelligent adult would be unable in most cases to tell

why he considers a thing pretty, and so we should not expect much from a child. We can, however, draw two or three conclusions from an examination of the qualities or attributes that are dwelt upon.

Color is the quality of objects that is most often mentioned, 13 per cent. of the children noting it. The color generally appears, however, as almost part of the name; the child admires a red rose, a blue sky or a green field. Thus in separating out the attribute of color, we make it more important than it probably is in the children's minds.

Motion, or action, appeals to 5 per cent. of the children so that they mention it; they like the dancing fairies in a pantomime, or the hurrying horses in a procession. Two per cent. of the children mention size as admirable; generally because it gives diminutive qualities, as in little babies or tiny dolls. Luster or sparkle is mentioned by three children in a hundred; material by two; and form by only one. Form seems to be one of the last attributes of objects to become so conscious a source of pleasure, that it rises to expression.

In working over my materials I have used a different system of classification from that used by my predecessors, and so comparisons of results are not altogether satisfactory. Where comparisons can be made, however, they show that the same general results emerge, though the different packages of compositions were gathered independently and from quite different schools. A comparison of some of the important lines is given in the following table:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Spectacle, Barnes	10%	14%	16%	22%	33%	34%	36%
Drury	2%	16%	16%	20%	31%	23%	31%
Landscape, Barnes	1%	1%	14%	15%	24%	25%	31%
Drury	1%	5%	11%	13%	15%	17%	26%
Dolls and Toys, Barnes	35%	21%	14%	15%	1%	1%	1%
Drury	31%	28%	18%	9%	1%	2%	3%

In these three important lines the results are remarkably close together when one considers the conditions under which the data were gathered and classified. It is equally striking if we compare the percentages reckoned on the whole 700 papers:

	Barnes.	Drury.
Shows	24%	20%
Flowers	22%	13%
Animals	15%	16%
Nature as a whole	3%	2%
Landscape	16%	13%
Places	6%	7%
Toys	12%	13%
Pictures	7%	4%

Under "Pictures" I also included other "Works of art," and this probably accounts for the difference of 3 per cent. in the two studies. Certainly an unprejudiced examination of these figures will convince any one that in such quantitative work we are within a field governed by law, and we are not dealing with accidents.

For purposes of comparison we worked through 293 papers written on this same test by boys in the London Board Schools. The number of papers is too small to warrant any detailed study of the results, but in comparison with the girls' answers, the totals are interesting:

	Boys.	Girls.
Shows	24%	24%
Landscape	12%	16%
Animals	24%	15%
Flowers	12%	22%
Sky, sun, etc.	2%	5%
Human beings	4%	4%
Places	5%	6%
Toys	0%	12%
Pictures, etc.	3%	7%
Things made	10%	6%
Ornaments	4%	4%
Clothes	0%	7%

On the whole, the results for the boys' papers strengthen the conclusions already drawn concerning shows, landscape and pictures. We find more admiration for animals and for manufactured things than among the girls; while the girls have a greater admiration for landscape, flowers, pictures and the sky; and they alone select toys and clothes as most beautiful.

This study seems to warrant the following conclusions concerning London girls:

1. The feeling of beauty, with the children seven and eight years old, gathers mainly around flowers, animals, and dolls.

2. Dolls are the most important center for artistic work with little children.

3. In their attitude toward pretty things these children work from simple units, such as flowers and dolls, to things recognized as complex, such as landscapes and spectacles.

4. Spectacles are the most important nucleus for cultivating artistic feeling at all stages in the elementary period.

5. Landscape is unimportant with children of seven and eight; it is very important for children of twelve and thirteen.

6. Buildings, pictures and other works of art are not strong centers around which to gather artistic feeling at any time in the elementary school period.

These conclusions carry their own applications with them, at least for one who believes that, on the whole, London social life is sane and sound, and that education should seek to push children as rapidly as possible along lines of normal growth and least resistance. Such a teacher will always be making it desirable and easy for a child to take the next step, believing that the difficulties inherent in all growth are sufficient to develop and test all the earnestness and will power that a child has. Such a teacher, then, will take the feeling of prettiness that gathers around dolls and flowers and animals, and will develop it along lines of landscape in Nature and through spectacle in the representative arts. A little drama, presented with even the crudest properties, if they have been made by the children themselves, has more power to cultivate artistic feeling in children than have galleries of statuary and painting. Their time will come later, and we need to get ready for them. Even for adults who are on the children's plane in artistic appreciation (and that means most of the adults in our democracies) the same line of training must be followed. Whitechapel and Baxter street need flowers and trees, and sunsets and rolling country-side. These they will probably never have, and they are now so perverted that they no longer want them. But on the side of art, we can control conditions, and here they do not so much need art galleries where they can see the paintings of Burne-Jones and Rossetti, as they do simple pictures that can tell good stories, and shows that can

charm and at the same time can teach men how to live and how to die.

Whether these conclusions and applications are accepted or not, the facts remain the same; and it is equally valuable to know how natural forces tend to develop, whether we believe that we ought to cultivate them or combat them.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. V.

My Three Days at the Fair.

"For some time last week there was quite a little excitement about the County Fair. I had a little kitten which had seven toes and was of various colors. The kitten is about three or four inches high and often times gets stepped on. Mrs. George gave it to me. I had not owned it long before somebody suggested that I should take it to the Fair. I got the cat and another citizen's ducks, and some preserves, and we started for the Fair.

When I reached the grounds I jumped out of the wagon and gave a list of all the things we had in the wagon. Then I received tags for everything and put them on the respective articles. Afterwards I went to see some races but just as I was coming around the corner I heard some one holler:

"A loaf of bread,
A pound of meat,
And all the mustard
You can eat."

As I passed on around another corner I heard a man exclaim, "Come, ring up, boys! The cane you ring is the cane you git! It's only five cents now, you can't miss every cane out of a hundred." From that I passed on to the races. When I got there the horses were just on their first heat. At the end of the race a little black stallion won by stretching his neck. After that I went around to get in the wagon, but it had gone way up the street, so I turned back and just as I did so, I saw a man selling horsewhips. He said, "I came a good many miles, not only to see this Fair, but also to sell the whips I have here on this stand." Then I heard him say, "Now boys, I am going to begin. I will first take out a little rawhide buggy whip which we call a crackerjack. Now I have another little whalebone whip I am going to put up and any man handing me a dollar bill for this lot I will present him with a nice team whip." A man stepped up and did so, and he said, "Thank you, you are a gentlemen." Then he said, "are there any more that want to buy? I guess I'll have to wake you people up." So he took out a cow bell and some old rattling thing, and he made a great noise,

I left him there, and as I was going down the track, I saw a lady walking the tight-rope. After she got through, I got up and thought I would make a grand display. I walked across once, having on my shoes, and then fell off on the ground and hurt myself. As soon as I got home I went to bed. By-and-by Mr. Cockburn brought me up some supper. . . . I got up at ten o'clock the next morning, feeling somewhat better, but had no intentions of going to the Fair. By-and-by one of the citizens asked me to go to the Fair with him. I did not like the question but I yielded to it and having a ticket for out-of-bounds, I went to the Fair.

When I reached there, I did not mind the same old cries about canes, sandwiches, and horsewhips I went straight to the racetrack where I saw a man getting a lot of boys together. I asked him what it was for, and he told me it was for an advertisement. So I told him I would be in it if he wanted me. He said yes so I put on a uniform consisting of red aprons and green caps. Each apron in front had a letter which helped to make different words. The words were "Bubbucks coffee is the best." We all got in lines forming the different words and went up in front of the Grand Stand and stood there for about five minutes after which we went up the race track a little ways and were about to turn around when a bay horse got scared at us and broke the haltar. Then the captain gave us orders to jump over the fence. We did so, and after we got back to our starting place the man told us to come one by one and he would pay us twenty cents. So we took off our aprons and hats and got in line. As soon as I got money I went to where they sold a loaf of bread, a pound of meat, and all the mustard you could eat, and got a frankfort and a little loaf of bread for five cents. Then I went to the lunch wagon and disposed of my other fifteen cents. . .

The third and last day I went again to take some milk to my kitten and . . . before going to see the races I went around by the stranger's horse's stalls where I saw a man waiting to have his horse cleaned. He asked me if I would clean him. I said yes and went in and then he said First curry him off good, then brush him off, then take your hands and rub him down, and then take the rag and rub him off. I did as I was told and after I had finished my job I went out and told the man. He came in

and looked and said it was a good job and that he would call on me some other time when his horse needed cleaning. I went away feling kind of downhearted knowing I had done good work and not receiving anything for it.

Then I went to see the races but I did not stay long. I went to the poultry and pets building and what did I behold but my kitten with a tag on the cage which said on it first premium. Then I laughed to beat the cars and said if I own that cat next year and am in the Republic I will take her to the fair. I came near loosing it the other day because it fell into a pot of soup which was setting on the floor cooling off. Every morning and night when I come in with the milk he sticks his little paws up on the pale and begins to holler. It was getting towards night and I thought I had better come home. So I started and just as I reached the main entrance I saw a double seated wagon with a big space in behind. I rode up as far as Baker State and I saw a little pig running behind us. I jumped out and was chasing it home when I met two or three of the other citizens who said they would help. So we all got together and chased the pig home. When we got there the lady thanked us and asked us if we would put it in the pig yard. We did so and she gave us each a five cent piece. We got home a little after dark. We had our supper and went to bed. In the morning many remarks were passed to me about the tight-rope walking. But I went to work the next day and forgot all about the Fair."

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

The George Junior Republic, at Freeville, N. Y., is, as most readers will know, a self-governing republic in which boys and girls who have come into conflict with our social system are helped to reorganize their lives in accordance with prevailing ideas of law and order. The citizens publish a journal called *The Junior Republic Citizen,* and the above story is taken from their issue of October, 1899. The story is reprinted here because it so perfectly represents the point of view of a boy twelve or thirteen years old. It is broken, fragmentary, but full of movement and of detail that has universal human interest. The boy is full of life, but he knows it, as yet, only in terms of the external world.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. V.

Tables of Results.

These tables are based upon data drawn from the schools of Trenton, Montclair, and other places in New Jersey. In all, nineteen hundred papers have been worked over, twelve hundred written by boys and seven hundred by girls. The reason for working over so many ten and eleven-year-old boys' papers was that we might see if adding more papers gave any considerable difference in results. Evidently, with this test, one hundred papers of each age and sex give us general averages little affected by adding more papers.

In working over such a large number of papers there are several ways in which the work can be economized and errors avoided. In the first place, two people working together can do better work than if alone. Let one person read the papers and the other enter the dashes in the lists, calling off his entries as he makes them. This brings two minds to bear on each instance, and secures care and uniformity of results. In the second place, if an entry is made for a sub-heading like "Father or mother" it is not necessary at the same time to make an entry in the main heading "Acquaintance." Enter a mark under Acquaintance only when the case does not fall under any of the sub-headings you are using; and then, when the work is done, add the entries under the main heading and under the sub-headings to determine the final entry under the main heading. Thus with "Native" and "Foreign" it is necessary to enter only the "Foreign;" and by subtraction determine the "Native."

In actual papers it is difficult to determine "Contemporary characters" from "Historical" and so we have combined the two in a new heading. Military characters were so impossible to determine, that entries under that heading were abandoned.

The large "Miscellaneous" group is due to those who chose some calling, such as teaching, without giving any person.

The results are reduced to the basis of one hundred papers for each age. In the next issue we shall generalize the results.

Name of student doing the work, Barnes.
Test, Ideals.
Place where collected, Various cities and towns in New Jersey.
Sex of writers of papers, Boys.

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Number of papers	100	150	150	200	300	150	150
Person chosen:							
Acquaintance	51	41	35	27	23	17	14
Father or mother	14	10	10	8	2	1	1
Other relative	14	7	7	4	4	3	2
Contemporary character	1	5	10	9	11	7	18
Native	1	3	9	8	10	6	16
Foreign	0	2	1	1	1	1	2
Historical character	23	27	39	50	48	61	51
Native	23	26	35	50	47	60	49
Foreign	0	1	4	0	1	1	2
Washington	19	17	30	32	34	41	24
Lincoln	3	5	3	5	6	11	9
Contemporary and historical	24	32	49	59	59	68	69
Literary character	1	0	1	3	3	3	2
Writers	8	6	5	7	8	6	4
Longfellow	6	6	4	5	4	2	2
Shakespeare							
Fairies and myths							
Characters from romance	1	0	1	3	3	3	2
Native	8	6	3	4	7	5	4
Foreign	0	0	2	3	1	1	0
Religion	6	6	5	2	2	5	3
Bible characters							
Deity	6	6	5	2	2	5	3
Military characters							
Child characters	9	10	6	3	3	2	6
Opposite sex chosen	3	7	12	6	5	2	6
Miscellaneous	10	15	5	2	5	1	8
Reasons for choice:							
No reason given	11	7	5	5	4	2	2
Material possessions	5	11	6	8	9	9	7
Intellectual or artistic qualities	4	6	4	8	6	5	8
Position	1	3	9	17	13	18	16
Power to do things	22	10	13	14	21	18	18
Qualities of character	32	37	44	45	43	38	40
Desire to help others	2	0	0	4	4	4	5

Name of student doing the work, Barnes.
Test, Ideals.
Place where collected, Various cities and towns in New Jersey.
Sex of writers of papers, Girls.

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Number of papers	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Person chosen:							
Acquaintance	79	66	58	43	38	37	21
Father or mother	23	17	11	11	6	6	8
Other relative	17	7	2	7	7	5	1
Contemporary character	2	1	3	6	7	16	20
Native	2	1	3	6	7	16	20
Foreign	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Historical character	13	13	21	27	32	31	32
Native	12	13	19	25	31	31	30
Foreign	1	0	2	2	1	0	2
Washington	6	9	9	10	12	12	17
Lincoln	2	1	5	2	3	4	4
Contemporary and historical	15	14	24	33	39	47	52
Literary haracter	2	3	5	8	5	3	6
Writers	0	5	9	5	13	10	13
Longfellow	0	5	5	2	5	5	8
Shakespeare					2		
Fairies and myths	1	1	2	3	1	2	0
Characters from romance	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Native	0	5	9	4	11	10	13
Foreign	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
Religion	1	12	2	3	2	3	4
Bible characters							
Deity	1	12	2	3	2	3	4
Military characters							
Child characters	15	17	20	4	4	4	6
Opposite sex chosen	26	30	31	36	45	41	40
Miscellaneous	3	0	2	8	3	0	4
Reasons for choice:							
No reason given	6	4	5	2	4	0	2
Material possessions	5	10	11	4	5	8	2
Intellectual or artistic qualities	4	2	9	6	9	14	12
Position	1	1	7	7	6	11	11
Power to do things	12	10	14	13	11	12	10
Qualities of character	43	50	43	52	56	42	60
Desire to help others	1	1	2	3	2	5	4

GROWTH OF SOCIAL JUDGMENT.

Our knowledge of children is too fragmentary as yet to warrant an attempt to analyze a child's social consciousness into its constituent factors, or to justify us in tracing the development of these factors across the years of infancy and childhood. At the same time, any fair-minded student may reasonably undertake to sketch the way in which social judgments are formed in connection with some selected concrete instance, and he may hope that the multiplication of such studies will in time give us a body of facts on which we can safely rest larger generalizations. This investigation aims simply at tracing more clearly the arc of a circle already sketched in an earlier printed study.*

The English data here presented were gathered in 1898 from fairly representative Board Schools in London. One thousand and forty-seven children were asked, as a regular composition exercise, to write an answer to the following test question: Once a mother gave a child for a birthday present a beautiful box of paints. The child was just six years old. In the afternoon while the mother was busy in another room the child painted all the chairs in the dining-room to make them look pretty, and then called out: "Oh mama, come and see how pretty I have made the dining-room look." The paint could not be washed off, and so the chairs were spoiled. What would you have done if you had been the child's mother? Why?

It will be easily seen that our object was to make a test where there should be the appearance of wrong, but where there should be absolutely no wrong committed. We wished further to put it in a form that would appeal to a very young child, and yet would require some thought from an older child. To form such a test question is no easy matter. At first we said that the mother whipped the child and sent her to bed, and then asked the chil-

* The original study was made by Dr. Margaret E. Schallenberger, in the Department of Education at Stanford University, in 1894; and the results were published under the title *Children's Rights as Seen by Themselves* in the *Pedagogical Seminary*, October, 1894. Subsequently Mr. Oliver P. Morton worked over some 3000 papers in the same department, using a different line of classification. In 1898, I gathered material for duplicating the study in England, and I have just worked over 700 papers from Pennsylvania towns. It is from these sources that this article is drawn.

dren what they would have done; we felt that many of the children followed our lead, whipped the child and sent her to bed. So we left out the punishment, but spoke of the child as a little girl named Jenny; this led some of the boys to say that they would let her go since she was a little girl; and we had a mixture of intelligence and chivalry which could not be unraveled. Then we threw away the papers, and changed the little girl into a child; but we failed to give the age of the child, and many evaded responsibility for passing a judgment by saying that it would depend on whether the child was old enough to know better; so then we put the age at six years, and gathered a new lot of papers. In these investigations, as in any line of inductive work, it is difficult to arrange an experiment which will give one simple, well-defined strand of tendency.

Before considering the quantitative results of the study, let us examine some representative papers written by the English children of successive ages from eight to fourteen. Of course such a qualitative presentation is in no way final; the selection of types depends upon the judgment of the one who makes the selection, and no one can be so absolutely scientific and unprejudiced as to secure perfectly trustworthy results. At the same time, the following papers are fairly representative of the developing tendencies which we are about to treat quantitatively.

An eight-year-old girl says: "If I had been the child's mother I should have smacked her." This is characteristic of all the papers by young children in its brevity, its directness, its failure to consider any conditions or any subjective factors, and in its immediate physical reaction.

At nine, one child writes: "Gave it a good beating and then forgiven her;" and another says: "Smack her and then give her five cents so she wouldn't cry." This marks a dim consciousness that there are two sides to the matter, with no power to bring the two sides into living relations.

At ten, a child says: "I should have taken them away. Scolded it and sent it to bed." And then she adds as a sort of afterthought, "Slapped it, should not let it go out the next day."

At eleven years old new elements begin to appear: "If I had been her mother I should have taken the paints away and when her next birthday came I should not give her anything at all.

And make her go without any toys at all till she knew better, and when she grew old enough make her pay for the chairs she had spoilt." The subjunctive "if" and the emphasis on future time, both mark this paper as belonging to an older child than those already quoted.

Twelve and thirteen are the ages of transition when the child definitely leaves the crude, ready-made reactions for the more complex compromises of adult social life. A twelve-year-old writer says: "I should have scolded her very much and took away the paints till she knew how to use them properly. When she was ten, I should have given them back to her, and tell her to use them when it was needful."

The thirteen-year-old child goes still further and locates the blame: "If I had been the child's mother I would not have bought her the paints." She then tries to correct the harm. "I think if she was to scrub the chairs the paint would perhaps come off." Then she reverts to her earlier crude reaction, "I would give her a smacking and ask her if she would do it again." And having thus satisfied her own feelings, she returns to the position of a grown-up intelligence and finishes her composition with: "And she was hardly old enough to know better."

At fourteen the stronger children have passed over into a stage where they can use social judgment in a case like this with fair-minded steadiness. "Under these circumstances," writes one of fourteen, "the child appears to have thought he would be doing right and pleasing his mother by decorating the furniture. This must have been very hard and provoking but to punish the child would be very hard and improper. I think the parents might tell the child and explain the trouble he had caused so he would take it in and ponder it over and determine not to do anything after that fashion again. Perhaps a little story told to the child would impress the fact more deeply."

Of course, these papers are typical only where we have large groups written by children at each age. Some eight-year-old children have twelve-year-old social judgments, and we could find plenty of adults who have only nine-year-old judgments, and who would agree with our girl in beating the child and then giving her five cents. The illustrations given simply show the tendency with large numbers, but exceptions are very numerous.

If this test question were submitted to intelligent adults they would doubtless all say: The mother ought not to have given the child the paints and then left her alone where she could do mischief with them. Having left the child to get into mischief, she would naturally be grieved about the chairs; but remembering the child's youth and recognizing her good intention through the fact that she did not hide her work but presented it for admiration, all that remained for the mother to do was to put away the paints, explain to the child the mischief she had done, and caution her for the future.

This is essentially the attitude taken by the older children examined, but it is not at all the position of the younger ones. In fact, the 1,047 English children examined mention 1,179 punishments which they would inflict, some children mentioning two or more punishments that they would combine. On the other hand, there are only 338 cases where the children refer directly or indirectly to the youth of the culprit, or recognize that we ought to explain to the little one the mischief she had done, and then forgive her.

The papers were first classified for ages and sex, and were then analyzed and the elements entered under the following headings:

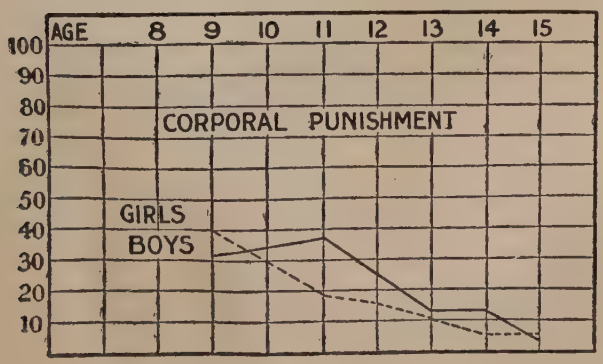
No answer	16
Do nothing	60
Punish the child	59
Corporal punishment	217
Scold	307
Threaten	20
Command	73
Send to bed	169
Shut up	20
Lose some pleasure	52
Lose the paints	240
Lose a meal	42
Repair the harm	53
Explain to the child	150
Youth considered	188

Since there were just about a thousand papers, these figures can be reduced to approximate per cents by pointing off one figure from the right.

Let us now look at the separate headings. From the entries under "No answer" we see that less than two children in a hundred failed to write anything. Those who would "Do nothing" represent a tangled skein which we cannot unravel; for it includes those who from inertia or indecision do not know what they would do, and it also includes some who considering the child innocent, dismiss the matter with the statement, "Do nothing." This skein, then, made up of the worst and the best, is useless for our purposes and must be laid aside. The answer, "Punish the child," belongs to the backward intelligences, but since we do not know whether the punishment is a preventive one, like taking away the paints, or a vindictive one, like assault and battery, it is not of much use in this investigation.

With this particular test question "Corporal punishment" probably stands for the lowest grade of social intelligence represented in the papers. It is, for the most part, unthinking, physical reaction against circumstances that displease the individual. How, then, is this answer distributed through the ages represented? I am sorry that we have not returns from younger children, and also larger numbers of papers from the ages represented, so as to make the lines of movement more steady. The percentages read as follows:

Ages . .	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Boys . .	32%	33%	38%	26%	14%	14%	4%
Girls . .	40%	31%	19%	16%	11%	6%	6%



This physical reaction, while a vanishing quantity, is still markedly present, though our test was arranged to give as little opportunity as possible for it to appear. The fact that this form of reaction is common with little children, and vanishes as they grow older confirms our earlier statement that it belongs to undeveloped minds. At nine years of age and at fifteen, girls have a little more of this low grade intelligence than boys. It must be remembered, however, that for these ages we had few papers, and in raising them to the basis of a hundred even two or three bright or dull girls would have a great effect. In all the other ages the girls show a higher grade of intelligence than the boys do. Let there be no misunderstanding at this point; I am not saying that physical punishment represents a low grade mind in general, but only in this particular instance, in which the little girl was obviously ignorant and trying to please her mother. It may be retorted that it merely shows that girls are tender-hearted, and consequently unjust in this direction, and to that interpretation an answer will be made later on.

If we return to the headings under which our evidence was classified we find the next, "Scold," includes many instances. It is, however, one of those make-shift solutions resorted to by those who do not know what to do. It is notorious that the man or woman who does not know what to do spends himself in talking. Distributed by ages these cases run:

Ages . .	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Boys . .	16%	21%	22%	16%	22%	27%	28%
Girls . .	42%	36%	38%	38%	29%	26%	24%

There is little information to be drawn from these figures. It is an undifferentiated field of half action.

"Threaten" and "Command" both look to the future, and it is significant that less than 10 per cent. of the children propose either. If we look at the threaten alone it is only 2 per cent., notwithstanding the almost universal use of threats in the ordinary home. Those who think that in such a test we simply get what the children have been used to at home, should bear this small number of threats in mind. The child lives in the present, and the future plays small part in his judgments. If, however, we combine, "Scold," "Threaten" and "Command" we have an impor-

tant and fairly uniform line of talking tendency. Combining boys and girls, the line runs:

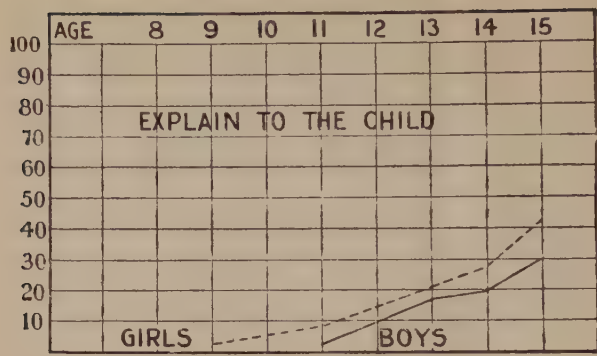
Ages . .	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
	44%	55%	69%	69%	80%	91%	79%

"Send to bed," "Shut up," "Lose some pleasure" or "Lose a meal" are common forms of punishment, and in this study their use shows no special tendency. "Lose the paints" is a difficult heading to interpret, because sometimes it is a punishment, and sometimes it is a means of preventing future mischief. Those who advised taking away the paints until she grew older were combined with those who considered her youth. The other cases must be set aside as a strand of conflicting tendencies which we cannot untangle.

Those who say "Repair the harm," by cleaning the chairs or otherwise, evade the question of the child's guilt by simply undoing the act. In the earlier form of the test this element was so strong as to seriously weaken the study, and even now when we have expressly stated that the paint could not be washed off and that the chairs were spoiled there are more than 5 per cent. who still dodge the question of moral responsibility by returning things to the condition they were in before the mischief was done.

The heading "Explain to the child" represents the highest intelligence shown in the answers. As we see, this is a growing line of development, becoming important only after twelve years of age. Since this is the highest point of intelligence reached in the study, it is interesting to again compare boys and girls. The girls are at all ages decidedly superior to the boys, and here one could hardly say that this kind of intelligence is due to soft-heartedness. This does not say that the London school girl is more intelligent than her brothers. It simply says that she has a higher degree of the kind of social intelligence needed in dealing with the simple ethical and social events of everyday child life. This plane is reached by only 15 per cent. of the children, and it is interesting to see how they are distributed by ages:

Ages . .	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Boys . .	0%	0%	2%	10%	17%	20%	30%
Girls . .	2%	4%	9%	15%	21%	27%	42%



The reasons given for the decisions made are for the most part very weak and indeterminate. The children say they would do as they propose to do because the chairs were painted or spoiled; because the child was bad; she ought to have known better; she was young and ignorant; or it would prevent future mischief. The human race learned what was necessary to do to secure social well-being long before it learned why it was necessary. It is the same with children.

In the London study the only reason that showed marked growth was the recognition that the child was young, little, ignorant or otherwise irresponsible. These answers were collected under the heading, "Youth considered." Those who would put aside the paints until the child grew older were also entered here. These answers represent an attempt to understand the conditions of the act. They represent a kind of dawning judicial sense, and are complementary to the answers under the preceding heading, "Explain to the child." If we arrange these 188 cases by ages we have:

Ages . .	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Boys . .	0%	3%	4%	10%	20%	22%	26%
Girls . .	5%	7%	11%	18%	33%	36%	54%

As we see, this is a rapidly growing strand of tendency, and again the girls lead the boys. Again we have a great increase with the age of twelve or thirteen. This heading is chiefly valuable for the way in which it confirms and strengthens the preceding group.

In a study recently made on 700 papers written by children in Pennsylvania towns, I classified the reasons so as to show those who thought of the following factors:

Spoiled chairs.
Bad child.
Future prevention.
Mistaken mother.
The percentages are:

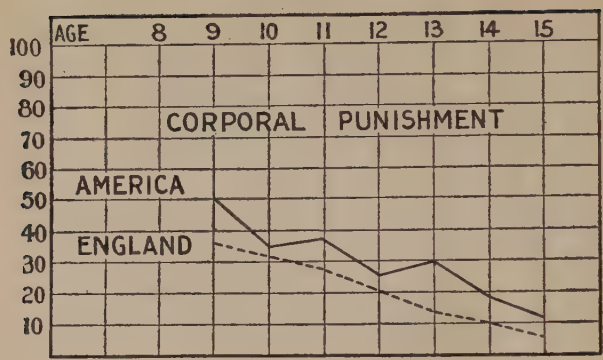
Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Spoiled chairs	47%	32%	43%	34%	21%	14%	12%
Bad child	30%	34%	17%	27%	16%	19%	17%
Future prevention	2%	4%	12%	22%	27%	20%	19%
Mistaken mother	4%	3%	6%	2%	8%	16%	19%

The number of papers is too small to give perfect regularity in the lines of tendency; but it is clear that in reasons, as in punishments, the young children focus their attention on the present, the palpable and the material. They see spoiled chairs and a bad child and they strike, pull hair, send to bed or scold. Only with advancing years do they see that the mother made a mistake, that the child was irresponsible, and so explain and instruct to prevent future repetition.

Let us now compare these results with those reached in Dr. Schallenberger's study. For that study she had about three thousand papers, well distributed over the ages from eight to sixteen, and representing both city and rural children of all classes found in California schools. It should be remembered, too, that California is not on the intellectual frontier of America, but that its population is one of the most intelligent in America. The English children, on the other hand, are from the State schools, which are not attended by the well-to-do classes; and they are from London, where the masses are probably less intelligent than in the northern counties. Thus any comparison between the two studies is unfair to English children.

The number in each country, combining boys and girls, who would advise corporal punishment is shown in this table:

Ages	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
America	50%	35%	38%	26%	30%	19%	11%
England	36%	32%	28%	21%	13%	10%	5%



In America 30 per cent. of the children whip, hit, or kick the little one, while in London only 22 per cent. of the children resort to this way of getting even. Age for age the London children lead our American children in their growth away from crude animal reactions. This is entirely opposed to what a long residence in both countries might lead one to expect. The English people have a reputation for short and effective action in social and political matters. Children are treated much more brusquely in English schools and homes than they are in America. The birch is still freely used in London police courts for juvenile offenders. But England and Englishmen are profoundly law abiding and they love justice.

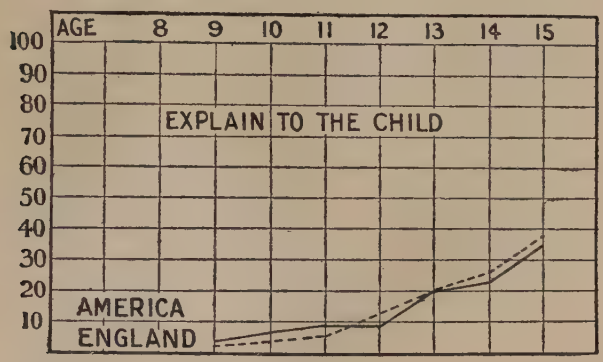
In America, the frontier life with its need for sharp, immediate penalties for law breakers; our long experience with slavery; our foreign population, recruited sometimes from the lowest classes of Europeans; and still more, our theory of life with its excessive emphasis on the value of individual initiative have all tended to weaken the older bonds of social life. In a country where lynchings and train robberies are common, and where powerful individuals can openly override public opinion, the belief in immediate physical force as a social panacea must affect the social judgments of even the children.

Thirty-one per cent. of the English children would scold against 13 per cent. of the Americans; 2 per cent. would threaten against 4 per cent. in America. In both countries the same proportion, 7 per cent. order the child not to do it again.

If, now, we examine the strand which, in this test, represents

the highest form of social intelligence we find that in each country 15 per cent. of the children would "Explain to the child." If we look at the distribution by ages we find the lines for the two countries almost identical:

Ages . . .	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
America .	3%	7%	9%	9%	19%	22%	34%
England .	2%	4%	6%	12%	19%	23%	36%



Our children are a trifle superior up to eleven years old and after that the English children lead. We must remember, too, that in America we have had all classes of society represented, including the best, while in London we had only the working masses and the lower middle class children. Even then the English children lead our children in social intelligence.

The following conclusions would seem to be justified by this study:

1. Either from natural tendency or from home or school training, three-quarters of the children in a London school, of the ages between eight and fifteen are incapable of dealing with a simple matter of household justice in a way which we adults would consider reasonable and right.

Three-quarters of the London school children use more severity in dealing with a simple matter of household justice than we adults would consider right.

2. The younger children are inclined to resort at once to physical reactions when things go wrong. This tendency decreases steadily with advancing years.

3. As the children grow older they are increasingly inclined to depend upon reasoning and enlightenment for the correction of social troubles.

4. Most of the London children, evidently on the ground that where there is so much damage there must be some blame, accept some half-way solution of scolding or sending to bed.

5. The London girls have more social intelligence in dealing with matters of personal relations than the boys have.

6. English Board School children develop social judgment more rapidly than do the children in American schools.

These conclusions agree with those reached through half a dozen studies that we have made during the past few years, using a variety of tests; and they also agree with that theory of developing childhood that sees each child born into the world traveling over the same ground already traversed by the race in its slow struggle toward civilization.

When we come to applications the matter is far from simple. The conclusions we have reached are, I believe, correct. The applications I shall propose are open to many questions.

Since a child develops a moral judgment which moves from simple crude reactions toward larger views and more subjective remedies, then we must believe that the language society speaks to him must move along the same general line. Let us see how this would apply in the matter of punishment, that being the subject with which the test was particularly concerned.

It is generally believed that in the historical development of the race we have passed through three stages in our attitude toward punishment. With the people whom we meet in early records, punishment means getting even with the culprit. It rests upon the idea that the offender should suffer as much as his victim does. Crime or wrong-doing is something to be offset or paid for by a certain amount of suffering or money. This is well illustrated by the old Hebrew body of penal law, expressed in the phrase, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Nearly all feudal law rests on this conception, and the feud-system in certain parts of America is a survival of the same idea. In this state of development laws, judges and executioners exist to see that in the barter the criminal pays his full bill. Such punishment depends for its realization on the feeling of revenge, a feeling which, at

least in its crude form, is rapidly disappearing with advancing civilization.

This attitude of mind is, I believe, repeated in each child born into the world. There is a period in his development in which he recognizes an equivalence between punishment and crime. The following conversation between a little girl and her mother illustrates this period perfectly:

"Mother, do you think there ought to be a lot of people around when they hang a man?"

"No, I do not, and I don't think they ought to hang a man at all."

"Oh! yes, mother, they must. Why if one man kills another man he ought to have the same done to him."

"Why?"

"Because that's fair, mother; he ought'nt to kill the man, and if he does, he ought to lose his own life."

"Suppose, then, I broke your nose, ought I to have my nose broken?"

"Oh, mother, that's so funny, but if you meant to break my nose on purpose I think you ought to have your nose broken; only I might forgive you and a dead man can't forgive him."

In the second stage of development, punishment is looked upon as a deterrent. The culprit is punished, not necessarily to offset his crime, but to frighten him and others so that they will not repeat the act. Much of our present penal code rests on this view of punishment. English law down to the present century inflicted the death penalty for a great variety of petty offences with the belief that it would frighten criminals. The laws in this second period are often more severe than those springing from revenge. In this phase of development, the laws and the judges exist as scarecrows to frighten evil-doers, and the whole idea rests for its realization upon the feeling of fear, a base and weakening feeling, which is undoubtedly, at least in this crude form, disappearing with increasing intelligence.

In the third stage, the cause for wrong-doing is sought in disease or ignorance, and the aim of punishment is to educate or cure the culprit. This conception has already begun to modify our penal regulations. Reform schools for juvenile delinquents, the work of the Elmira Reformatory, the sentencing of criminals

for not less than a certain period nor more than a maximum term, dependent on behavior, and the general abolition of severe punishments in dealing with young children,—all these movements depend on this new conception of wrong-doing and crime. Good people sometimes fear that this means a sentimental treatment of crime; but nothing could be farther from the fact. With anesthetics and antiseptics surgery has become more remorseless than before. The danger is that scientific criminology will leave no place for pity. Under this third conception of crime judges and executioners are transformed into criminal experts, and education becomes the principal instrument of the law. This last conception rests upon the belief that justice should be done to the offender as well as to society, and that society is best protected by eliminating the criminal. As Secretary Spaulding of the Massachusetts Prison Association says:

"When it is found necessary to imprison a man, it should be because of what he is, and not on account of what he happens to have done—because of his character and not because of his crime. His offence may or may not indicate his character. He may be better or worse than his deed. When he is in prison he should be kept there until he has become fit to be at large, and the time of his stay should be used by the State in such a way as to prepare him for good citizenship."

In this study on the children we have found them passing through these same stages that we have traced in the race. Revenge and immediate physical reaction gradually give way to understanding and corrective. If this is true then the question of first importance for us to meet is how properly to diagnose the culprit's own attitude toward his misdemeanor. Where punishment rests on the idea of getting even, it does not matter much what the culprit thinks or feels; if it rests on fear, we have only to make the punishment severe enough to produce fright; but if we are to cure or educate the mind away from crime, then the first and prime question is, How does the guilty one think and feel about what he has done, and about the punishment we propose to administer?

Having determined the stage of development we shall try to make the punishment curative by making it appeal to the child's sense of justice. With little children the punishment will be

immediate physical repression, as they grow older, this will give place to subjective appeal.

Does this mean that corporal punishment is to be used? Yes, just as physic is to be used. If our child is ill it is because we were too busy or too ignorant to prevent it—then we must give it physic after a careful diagnosis of the case. If we meet the case in time a hot water bag will answer. It is the same in the moral world; if our children are bad, we are to blame—if we see it in time, a loving but strong hand, placed on the arm is enough. If we have to physic or whip it is because someone has blundered.

DELEGATED AUTHORITY.

SARAH YOUNG.

Most educators would agree that a right judgment in all things is a more valuable possession than a head full of book learning. To know the right thing to do, the wise, exactly adequate thing to do in daily relations with one's fellow-beings is more to be desired than mathematical skill or a profound acquaintance with Latin grammar. Hence a serious charge often brought against the school is that it aims only at preparation for college, for business, for society, but not at preparation for life; it concerns itself with only a part and not the whole; it surrenders what ought to be done in favour of what may be well left undone.

In excuse, it may be alleged that life alone can prepare for life, that the school cannot be made a forcing house for the cultivation of a wisdom and an insight which must come piecemeal if it ever come at all, and that it is better to teach children to write legibly, add accurately and learn the position of Melbourne and Chicago than to attempt to develop a precocious ability to deal critically with ethical and social problems.

To this it may be opposed that unconsciously, the young are daily assimilating a code of conduct and a standard of ethical criticism from the doings and saying of their elders at home and in school, which will inevitably influence their own mode of behaviour and their criticism of that of others. At school they are required to pass judgment upon the doings of George Washington and of him "who stood on the burning deck, whence all but he had fled." From all this culture material will be formed their social and personal ethics, and such material both demands and develops an impartial judgment, a weighing of evidence and an appreciation of the given conditions of the particular problem in hand.

Do the children possess such qualities, writ small, as the intelligent adult must possess in much more highly evolved form for the difficult and complex problems presented to him?

As a test of such powers, the following question was given

as a composition exercise to a number of children in schools in California: "Johnny's mother was going out, so she told him to look after his sister Mamie. After the mother was gone, Mamie began to scratch the table; Johnny told her to stop, but she went on scratching it. Should Johnny have punished her or should he have waited and told his mother?"

It will be readily conceded that the problem thus proposed lies within the writer's comprehension. Every day of their lives, Harry aged eleven, or Lucy aged thirteen, is deputed to take care of a younger Willy or Nelly and to be responsible for the well-being and good conduct of their juvenile charges. These younger ones feel dimly that the big brother or sister is on the edge of that grown-up community which, by virtue of its superiority in age, exercises so vast and incomprehensible a right of prohibition over their doings. Hence, the younger writers would see their own experience mirrored in that of Mamie, while the elder would regard Johnny as representative of their position and claims. The first condition for a hopeful solution of any problem, namely, direct acquaintance with the data, is therefore provided.

Seven hundred papers were collated, 330 written by boys, and 366 by girls. Since the number of papers was small and since they were irregularly distributed through the ages, the papers of two successive years were massed together, those of nine and ten years, of eleven and twelve years, of thirteen and fourteen, of fifteen and over fifteen.

The number of papers under the various ages was as follows:

Ages . . .	9 and 10 yrs.	11 and 12 yrs.	13 and 14 yrs.	15 yrs. and over.
Boys . . .	90	90	100	50
Girls . . .	100	100	100	66

A very simple collating scheme is naturally suggested by the terms of the test. The two alternative lines of policy proposed for Johnny are "to punish" and "to wait and tell his mother." Hence the two principal headings for the scheme are thus expressed. A number, however, of the writers simply say, "Johnny should have waited." This is no new way out of the difficulty, but is practically equivalent to acceptance of the second alternative, and means simply vagueness of expression and incomplete attention to the terms of the question.

Another apparently possible solution occurs to a number of the writers. These suggest that Johnny should stop Mamie's mischievous proceedings and subsequently report them to their mother. The judicious adult outsider would probably concur in this. Though Mamie turned a deaf ear to her brother's admonitions, some legitimate and mild means of arresting her ill-directed energies should have been found, but the penalty for contumacy should be imposed by a higher tribunal.

The following is an example of a policy which seems exactly adequate to the occasion:

Boy. Age thirteen. "Johnny should not have punished his sister because a boy should not do that. The best way would have been for him to try and get his sister to stop by offering her something nice to play with and tell her it was naughty to do that. Then he should have waited and told his mother."

The following table expresses the percentages of those who say "wait and tell the mother," or "wait," or "stop and tell the mother."

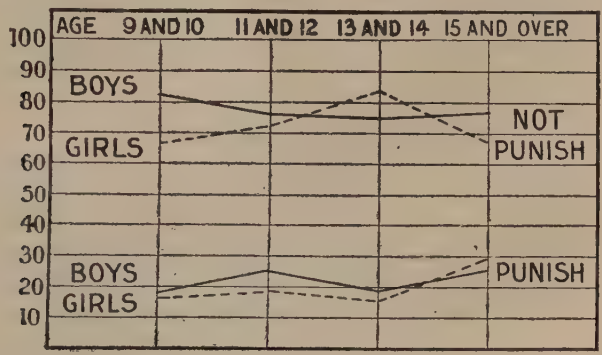
	Ages	9 and 10 yrs.	11 and 12 yrs.	13 and 14 yrs.	15 yrs. and over.
Wait.	Boys	39%	18%	16%	10%
	Girls	30%	14%	14%	9%
Wait and Tell.	Boys	40%	52%	51%	60%
	Girls	30%	49%	66%	57%
Stop her and Tell.	Boys	3%	6%	8%	6%
	Girls	7%	9%	2%	2%

The first group represents the indeterminate half action of those who are afraid to decide, or those who have only partially grasped the conditions; it disappears as the children grow older. The third group represents those who compromise and avoid the necessity for a decision; it is not important at any age. The second group represents those who grasp the conditions of the question and who dare pass an opinion; it grows with the advancing ages. Still the difference between the attitude of these writers towards the terms of the problem is apparent rather than real; expressed or implied is the opinion of all of them, that Johnny

is not the rightful judge and executioner in this case. Hence they are opposed to all the other writers who affirm that it is his business to punish Mamie.

If now we add together all of these who would postpone the penalty for the mother's adjudication, and compare them with those who would have Johnny inflict the punishment, we have the following tables of percentages:

	Ages	9 and 10 yrs.	11 and 12 yrs.	13 and 14 yrs.	15 yrs. and over.
Johnny not to punish	Boys	82%	76%	75%	76%
	Girls	67%	72%	82%	68%
Johnny to punish	Boys	17%	24%	19%	24%
	Girls	17%	19%	18%	30%



Thus we see that as the children grow older an increasing number of them are inclined to have Johnny accept the delegated authority and act upon it. In all, 77 per cent. of the boys and 72 per cent. of the girls think Johnny should refer the final settlement of the matter to the mother, while 21 per cent. of all the boys and 21 per cent. of all the girls think he should punish Mamie himself. The remainder of the writers, 2 per cent. of the boys and 7 per cent. of the girls, do not answer, or do not answer to the point, or give some solution which is not covered by the terms suggested above.

Before considering the application of these facts, let us examine briefly the nature of delegated authority.

As a rule, in deputing his authority to a subordinate, the superior surrenders only a part of his responsibilities and privileges. The head assistant in a school acting temporarily in place

of the head master would not, generally speaking, have the right to expel offenders. The under steward of an estate would not, in the absence of his superior, feel empowered to dismiss a recalcitrant servant. In the English judicial system, judges go on circuit to deal with offences for which the subordinate authority is inadequate. Throughout, there runs the idea that there is a limit to the extent to which authority may be delegated from a superior to his agent.

The same is, generally speaking, true of the authority vested in the parent by nature and society. From Solomon downwards, it is assumed that the parent's right and duty are to chastise his erring child, and even the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children does not exist to question the right, but only the abuse of it. The laws forbidding corporal punishment in the schools of America and France imply that the teacher in this matter cannot stand *in loco parentis*. In England, where no law of this kind exists, one of the causes of antagonism between the teacher in the primary school and the parent is the frequent, violently expressed objection of the latter to concede the right of chastisement of his offspring to the former. Even where the right of the head teacher to administer corporal punishment is unquestioned, there is often a strong feeling against a subordinate teacher's use of the right. In no case would any of the large army of youthful teachers in the English primary schools, the pupil-teachers and monitors, be officially recognized as having the power to beat the children in their charge.

It is true that Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, the most famous schoolmaster of modern times, not only defended the teacher's right to administer bodily chastisement, but also empowered the elder pupils in the school to exercise this right over the younger. Still the prevailing modern feeling is that this parental function can only be delegated to those of mature years, and not to those whose youth still places them under tutelage.

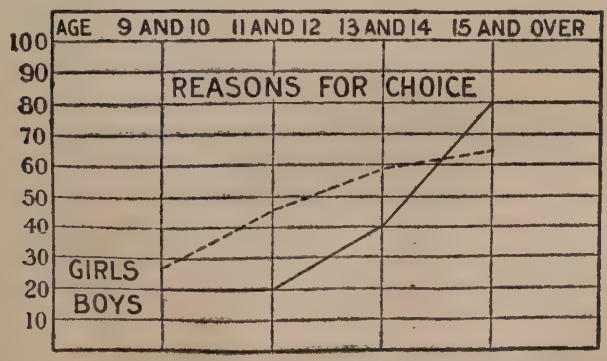
From the tabulated results of this investigation, it is apparent that the large majority of the writers take the grown-up point of view. This is somewhat surprising, for the most casual observer of children and their ways must have remarked how children rejoice in the show of authority. Watch them playing with their dolls or keeping school. In these childish dramas the

breaker of the law is as inevitable a character as the villain in melodrama, and his offences are multiplied on this mimic stage beyond the experience of the most sorely tried parent or teacher. The rod or cane is a prominent piece of their stage furniture and its frequent use is not to be taken as an index of the part it plays in home or school, nor of childish malevolence. It is only another indication of the primitive idea among individuals and peoples that government is synonymous with the exercise of physical force.

It is not so surprising that the younger children, who probably see in themselves the potential victims of fraternal tyranny, should pronounce against Johnny's chastisement of Mamie; a recognition of kindred conditions is a firm basis for sympathy. The elder writers, however, are at an age when the privileges of position are more likely to dazzle than its responsibilities to terrify, and the young are always more prone to judge others sternly than to palliate or excuse. Possibly, if placed in Johnny's circumstances, their practice might diverge from their theories, but according to these papers, the intellectual perception of many of them is sound.

Let us now examine the reasons the children give for their chosen solution of the problem presented to them:

Age	9 and 10 yrs.	11 and 12 yrs.	13 and 14 yrs.	15 yrs. and over.
Boys . . .	20	20	40	80
Girls . . .	26	45	59	64



This table indicates a growing tendency on the part of the developing consciousness, more marked in the case of the boys

than the girls, to seek in reasons and beliefs an intelligible basis of action. Of course much of the world's work is done by people who stumble blindly on right means to worthy ends, and whose position is much that of one of the writers, a boy, aged fourteen, who says "Johnny should have waited and told his mother. I cannot give a reason but I know that he ought to wait and tell his mother." It is equally true that it is possible to go to perdition with one's eyes open and to give a logical explanation for the inevitableness of the process. Nevertheless, unreasoned action is more likely to terminate wrongly than rightly, and hence one of the most hopeful indications brought out by this enquiry is, that there comes a stage in mental development where there is an impelling desire to seek explanation for the facts of life. When man desires not only to see things happen, but asks why they happen, he has reached higher stages in evolution, whether as an individual or as the race.

We will now examine in detail the specific quality of the reasons given. The following table gives a list of these, and of the percentages under each head:

REASONS FOR JOHNNY'S PUNISHING MAMIE.

	Ages .	9 and 10 yrs.	11 and 12 yrs.	13 and 14 yrs.	15 yrs. and over.
1. Mamie is in his charge.	Boys .	5%	8%	12%	22%
	Girls .	3%	6%	9%	16%
2. Injury to the table.	Boys .	2%	0%	2%	3%
	Girls .	1%	1%	4%	6%

REASONS FOR JOHNNY'S NOT PUNISHING MAMIE.

	Ages .	9 and 10 yrs.	11 and 12 yrs.	13 and 14 yrs.	15 yrs. and over.
1. Johnny has no authority or right.	Boys .	7%	5%	12%	22%
	Girls .	11%	16%	18%	9%
2. Punishment rests with parent.	Boys .	1%	1%	3%	4%
	Girls .	2%	14%	13%	8%
3. Children should not punish each other.	Boys .	3%	3%	6%	0%
	Girls .	2%	3%	20%	14%
4. Punishment might be ineffective or too severe.	Boys .	2%	3%	4%	0%
	Girls .	3%	3%	9%	6%

Some typical illustrations will more adequately explain these tables.

For Johnny's punishing Mamie:

Girl, fifteen: "It would not be right to let her do wrong when she was placed in his charge."

Girl, fourteen: "Mamie was left in his charge and Johnny had the right to punish her himself for if his mother had not trusted Johnny's good judgment she would not have left Mamie in his charge."

Girl, fifteen: "The table would have been pretty well scratched up by the time his mother got home."

For Johnny's not punishing Mamie:

Girl, fourteen: "It was not right for him to punish his sister without his parent's telling him to do so."

Boy, fourteen: "I think he should have waited and told his mother because his mother was boss of them both."

Girl, fourteen: "Johnny should have waited and told his mother because it is a mother's place to punish her children and not for the children to punish one another."

Boy, twelve: "Mother punish because her mother raised her and she is her mother."

Girl, fourteen: "If Johnny would have punished her it would only made her worse."

It is interesting to compare the figures under the first reason given for not punishing, viz. that Johnny's position does not authorize him to do so, with those under the corresponding reason for punishing, viz. that Mamie is in Johnny's charge. Forty-seven per cent. of the boys and 34 per cent. of the girls affirm that Johnny's right to punish rests on the fact that the control of Mamie was deputed to him. Forty-six per cent. of the boys and 54 per cent. of the girls, on the contrary, state that Johnny must refer the matter to the supreme authority since he possessed no inherent or delegated right to punish. These ideas are mutually exclusive. They represent the crux of the whole situation, and imply important principles underlying any dispute with regard to delegated authority. In any illustrative case, on the one hand, it might be alleged that the responsibilities of delegated authority carry with them the right to enforce effective penalties for insubordination; on the other hand it may be affirmed that deputed

authority is limited, especially with regard to the imposition of penalties. Special conditions in any case will determine which of these two opposed principles should have most weight. In the case given in the test, the special conditions, *e. g.* the relation of both parties to the supreme authority, the prevailing view as to the inalienable right of the parent to chastise his own child, the immaturity of the juvenile deputy-governor, are all against his assuming the role of judge and executioner. Still the reason alleged on the other side is intelligent and intelligible, and the chief value of the comparison in the two sets of numbers given above is, that whether the decision given is the right or wrong one, a clearer grasp of the issues involved is shown by the elder children than the younger, and this is encouraging to a believer in genetic psychology.

With regard to the other reasons, 2 per cent. of the writers think Johnny should punish to prevent the destruction of the table, and 6 per cent, deny his right to do so on the ground that chastisement rests with the parent. Six per cent. will not allow him the right because children should not punish one another, and 4 per cent. withhold the power on the ground that he may be too severe, or they say the punishment may not prove an adequate deterrent.

Each and all of these reasons might be put forward by the average mother of a Johnny and Mamie. Even average mothers differ the one from the other, and some few of them might sanction Johnny's violence to Mamie if the table were preserved from injury. These, however, would probably be in the minority, as are the juvenile critics who are of the same way of thinking. The majority of the mothers would disapprove of Johnny's taking the law into his own hands for one or other of the reasons adduced by the writers. Either they would take their stand on the principle that they are the supreme authority and must remain the ultimate court of appeal, or they would argue from grounds of expediency, and urge Johnny's youth and relation to his sister Mamie as reasons for inaction on his part. Hence a large majority of these youthful writers, the average mother and the impartial outside critic would all concur in their verdict passed on the problem presented in the test.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON DELEGATED AUTHORITY.

The first law that a child obeys is that which has been written in his nervous system through the long generations that have preceded him. This body of instincts or laws, lies at the very base of training for purposes of social control.

Next the child comes to recognize the authority of commands from certain individuals; the mother, the father, and the nurse stand as the embodiments of law and order, and even with very little children the simple command of "No! No!" backed by proper gestures and facial expressions has weight and helps to determine action.

Gradually the child comes to recognize the authority of those who are grown up, regardless of their relation to him. The elders, the old men of the tribe, have a right to command, and children are trained to obey what they say. In Sparta the old men frequented the play grounds and gymnasia and constantly interfered with the boys in the interest of their better education. Both in Athens and Sparta the older men were under obligations to correct any child who was found misbehaving. In all primitive societies this feeling that the elders have the right to rule is deep-seated. To-day respect for age is much less than it was even a half century ago. Adults and children alike recognize that gray hairs do not necessarily represent wisdom and the right to rule. With this change we are losing one of the strongest and most natural stages through which children tend to pass in their approach to self control.

Next to the authority of "grown-ups" children come to recognize the authority of the group of children in which they are included. Public opinion is very powerful among boys and girls, and what the others do or do not do; what they desire or dislike; above all, what is customary has a very large influence in determining action. It is this recognition of public opinion within the child's group which creates the traditional atmosphere of an old school like Eton or Harrow. Boys in certain forms must yield obedience to those above them; they are under equal obligations to

exact obedience from those below them. At the same time the field within which obedience can be exacted is fairly well defined by custom; boys in a certain form can carry canes, others cannot. It is this subordination of individuals to the laws of the group that has made the aristocracy of England as democratic as it is among its own members, and has prevented excessive development of individual leadership within that group. When children are keenly alive to this form of authority they resent any individual variation, and the boy who "puts on side" or is "fresh" is mercilessly forced into line.

This devotion to the group is an almost indispensable stage in the development of the social self. In all forms of democratic life we need it; but the made-up expedients found in our public schools lack the charm and power of corresponding forms in older civilizations where they rest in the authority of the centuries.

After the father and mother, the "grown-ups" and the group of equals, the child comes to recognize authority in regularly appointed officials. For most children this is first realized in older brothers and sisters, in teachers, and in the police or the soldiers. If we could trace the steps through which the children pass in accepting this authority it would help us in training them.

In one of the East London schools, Miss Clara Grant strengthened the test used by Miss Young by supposing that after the mother went out Mary began playing with the fire; but even under those conditions, where the child is in danger of being burned up, 34 children out of 42, six to seven years old, say that John should wait for his mother's return. They give various reasons for waiting: "he had no right to punish her," "he was too little," "wait until mother can see what to do," "children ought not to hit their brothers and sisters." And one child says "wait because mother could hit her harder than John could." In this test there are 7 children who say punish her because she would get burnt or because she would set the house on fire, only one hits on a compromise and says that John should put out the fire. Thus we see that even in an extreme case like this where there is a very real danger from fire the children theoretically stand by the original source of authority in the mother and object to having it delegated to brothers and sisters.

In transferring the sense of authority from the paternal group to the teaching group there are inevitable conflicts in the child's mind and it would be very interesting if we could determine along what lines the transference is most easily made. With a view to determining this question we submitted the following question to an Infant School in London: Mary's mother told her not to sit on the floor because she would get her clothes dirty. One day in one of the games at school, her teacher told her to sit on the floor. Ought Mary to sit down or stand up, and why? Out of 42 children, 27 say she should obey the mother and stand up; 7 say she should obey the teacher and sit down, while 8 make some form of compromise, such as "she should tell the teacher what her mother had said;" or, "just stoop down." The result of this study made me feel that the mother remained the centre of authority even when the child had begun going to school.

In one of the North London schools where we repeated this test the same results were reached. Out of 57 children, 46 upheld the mother and only 11 were for the teacher. Of the 46 in favor of home authority, 41 said "stand up" without qualification; 2 added "because mother said so;" and 3 thought it necessary to explain to the teacher. Of the 11 in favor of school authority, 8 said "sit down" without further comment; 3 gave the reason "because she was told to by the teacher;" and 2 indicated clearly that in school she must obey the teacher. This evidence seemed to show that the children when they first went to school continued to feel that the parent was the source of authority.

In talking over the test, however, the teachers of the second school came to the conclusion that it hardly gave the teacher a chance because the clothes were a home matter and the whole problem turned on soiling the clothes, consequently the following sequel in Mary's life history was given: Mary grew older, and by-and-by she was in a form where she had to do home work. Now a strict rule in her school was that leaves might never be torn out of exercise books. One day her little brother spilt some ink on her book and her mother told her to tear out a leaf. What ought she to have done? The question was submitted to 57 children of whom 51 were for the teacher, 5 for the mother and one for compromise. Of the 51 in favor of school authority, 37 said "leave it," without any explanation; 14 offered some sort of

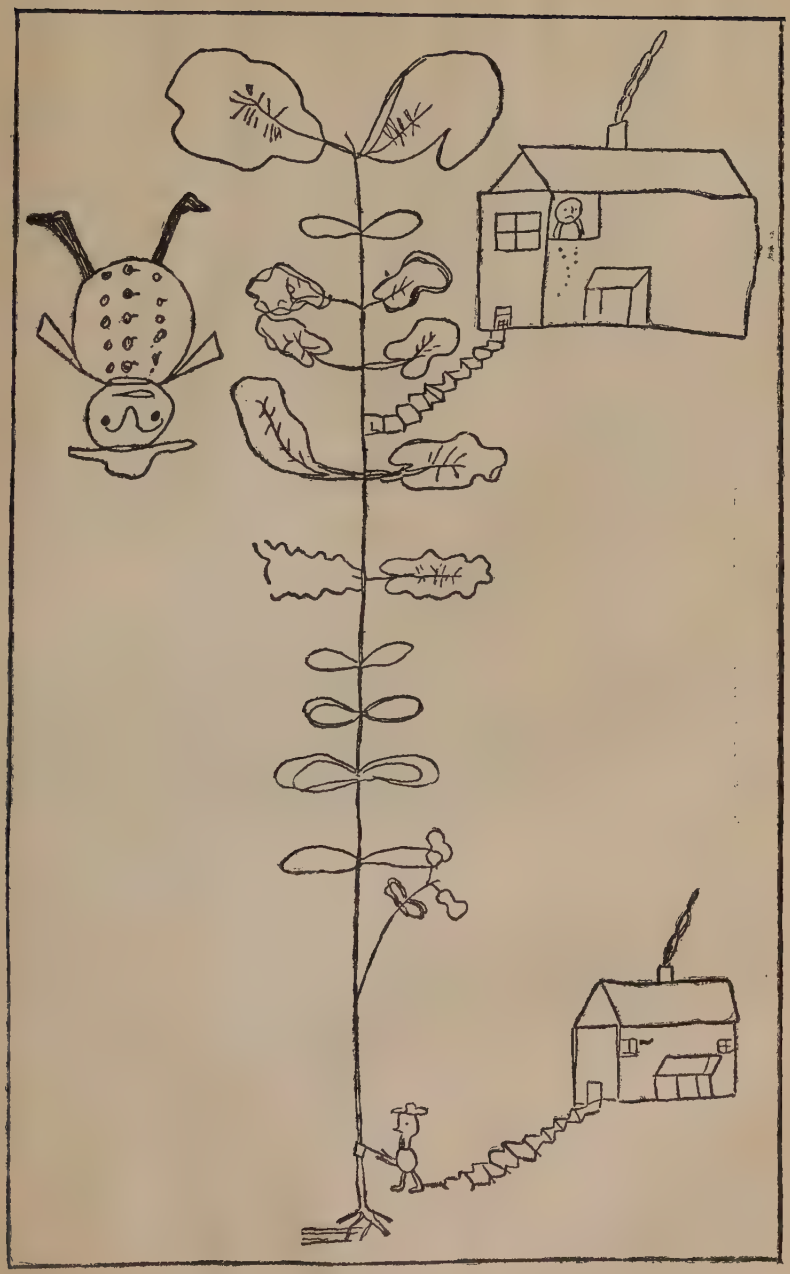
reason; 6 said leave it and explain to the teacher; 5 said leave it and explain to the mother. Of the 5 in favor of home authority, 3 simply said "tear it out;" 2 added "tell the teacher in the morning."

This shows the great danger there is in hasty generalization with such experiments. Our attention was focussed upon the one in authority when we constructed the tests, but the child's attention was focussed upon the clothes in the first case and on the book in the second.

It will be interesting now to see what objects and activities remain longest under the authority of the parents and which ones are most easily transferred to brothers and sisters, to elders, to the group of comrades or to teachers.

After teachers, the police and the soldiers stand out as the embodiment of power in the minds of children. When a country child first comes into the presence of these splendid uniformed representatives of law and order he feels that they are omnipotent. Sitting in the Boboli Garden, in Florence, one day with a little American girl, I was startled when she remarked "I wish I were a soldier, then I could pick all these flowers." "Yes," she went on, "some day I am going to get a soldier to go with me and we shall go through all the gates that say 'No admittance;' and we can take anything we want." It was no wonder that an American girl had been swept away with admiration for the clothes and swords of the Italian soldiers,—but some day she will learn that an Italian soldier has less power than the humblest American errand boy.

These are the stages through which we have to trace a child's growth—and this study has done no more than outline them.



STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. V.

Constructive Imagination.

The picture here reproduced was drawn by a boy of eight in a village school. The teacher had simply read her children the story of Jack and the Bean Stalk and had then asked them to draw some pictures from the story.

Had the boy made the picture when he was five years old he would have drawn some scattered fragments, a bean, Jack and a bag of gold,—or a giant, a house and Jack's mother. The artist is just passing over from this period of broken pieces, which we might call the cataloguing period, into a time when he strings the elements loosely together. He is entering the representative period.

This lack of wholeness shows in the roots of the bean-stalk, for it is especially necessary that this stalk should have a good support, and yet the roots are all on exhibition. The time sequence is as remarkable as the roots above ground. The giant falls with the first stroke of Jack's ax, before the bean-stalk begins even to incline. One thing was drawn at a time, and the child never grasped the details into a connected whole.

This quality is still better illustrated in another picture, drawn by a child a year older, where Jack is hiding in the giant's stove. From the stove a pipe runs up to the chimney, and from the chimney the smoke is pouring with a volume that would have roasted Jack in two seconds. This indicates no lack of judgment on the artist's part; he drew the stove and it suggested a pipe; the pipe suggested a chimney; and the chimney, smoke. Each part as it was drawn passed into the background of consciousness and the child never saw his own work as a whole.

The houses in our picture are purely diagrammatic and are both built on the same plan. This form of house has become a symbol, and if the boy were not taught to write a euphonic language, this design would probably be modified into a hieroglyphic sign to stand for house. Both houses have windows, and

yet through the walls of both you can see the tables inside,—the descriptive art is only slowly making way for the representative art.

The bean-stalk is a school product, simply enlarged. For some weeks the teacher had been teaching beans, and they had been sprouting and growing in the room. Especial attention had been given to the roots and to the cotyledons and these are reproduced with great care. So, too, the house is the house in which the boy lived who drew the picture. It was a little house standing on rising ground with many steps going up to it.

The one element in the picture which was not in the original version read to the class, or in the child's home and school environment, is the weeping wife of the giant. Her tears fall fast outside the window as the giant, with hat quite straight and buttons all tight, gently drops to the earth.

This then is the pedagogic story told by this picture: A boy of eight, in the period between descriptive and representative art, having in his mind a few symbols, starts from the stairs of his own little home and climbs up the little bean stalk, sprouting in his school room, to Giant's Land; and it is all real, and it is all imagined.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. VI.

A Fog of Words.

"The Singing Leaves.

"There was a king who had these daughter. Once when he went to bunity fair the us then what you to be then the oldest one said he wenting grow comb for her hair and pearls. The next one said, he which for soap that would stand are alone, and rubbies the yound one said bring me some singing leaves when the trees leave and the fair. The found it earse who went the by the sisan and pearls and the rigns. But not the came leaves who wolk on the fair, but could found no singing leave he net a man may walter the peth but and who give to bething from singing leaves. But the kind have to promise to give him. The first singing who next after the tastle gate. The kind net of youndest daughter in stady of the dog as you hope he give her the singing leaves, he open then. The first one said I am walter the page the second one said the mined the mined the last I am thine I am thine."

By a thirteen-year-old boy.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

The writer of this jargon of words lives in a little town on the edge of the Mojave Desert. Until he was six years old he heard as well as other boys; then scarlet fever left him nearly deaf. His father was busy and far from rich, and did not realize how much it might mean to the boy to be half deaf; skillful aurists were hundreds of miles away; teachers came and went with each new term, and the boy drifted along in a fog of words until he was thirteen years old and in the fifth grade of the school. It was then he wrote this story as a reproduction exercise.

What the story was may be seen from the following version, written by a child of ten, who could hear:

"The Singing Leaves.

"There was a king who had three daughters. Once when he went to Vanity Fair, he asked them what he should bring them. The oldest one said she wanted a gold comb for her hair, and pearls. The next one said she wanted silks that would stand alone and rubies. The youngest one said bring me some singing leaves. When the king, reached the fair, he found it easy to buy the silks and pearls and rings, but not the singing leaves.

He rode on to the forest, but could find no singing leaves. He met a man, named, Walter the Page, and he gave to the king some singing leaves. But the king had to promise to give him the first thing he met at the castle gate. The king met his youngest daughter, instead of his dog, as he hoped. He gave her the singing leaves. She opened them and the first one said, 'I am Walter the Page.' The second one said, 'Be mine, be mine,' and the last said, "I am thine, I am thine.' "

This is the story which the boy of thirteen reproduced as printed above.

The boy's teachers agreed that he was "bright, active and very sensitive." He excelled in drawing and was very good in arithmetic. When he spoke, his language was much better than when he wrote, but it was very imperfect.

Had the boy become absolutely deaf when he was one year old, he would have grown up a deaf-mute; but at six he had already made acquaintance with speech and had formed the habit of using words. After he became deaf he still heard some fragments of sound, and unconsciously pieced out what he heard by watching lips. No one came his way who was able and cared to help him, and so he blundered on in a fog of sound.

He drew well because eyes alone suffice for drawing, and pictures are a universal language that does not have to come through touch or hearing. His arithmetic was good because number is an abstraction; and a bright mind might develop plane geometry if chained to the wall of a dark cell.

In history and geography he was not only poor,—he knew nothing of them as taught in schools, because he lacked the medium of words.

Had the boy been less sensitive, he might have crowded to the front and have demanded that they should make him understand. As it was, he fell to the rear; sympathetic teachers spared him embarrassment by letting him remain generally silent. In a community where there was not much reading he did not push along to the point where written words could reveal the world to him.

Meantime he wrote very well for a boy of thirteen, so far as penmanship was concerned; and so he sat silently copying words and thickening his mental fog. When the teacher read the story of "The Singing Leaves" he listened, caught here and there a word or phrase, gathered some more from lip movements, and then sat down to reproduce the puzzle. If we read the story first and then read his version aloud, we see that he stumbles along over the general route of the action remarkably well, for one who did not know what he was doing nor where he was going.

This little study might be made the text for insisting on a medical examination of all children in schools, if the particular school under question were not so isolated as to make the plea absurd. It might also be used as a text for insisting that each child should be treated as an individual, and that every teacher should occasionally put aside her pedagogy and look at her children as human beings, with human needs.

I prefer, however, to make the application to formalism in education everywhere. In psychology, pathological conditions sometimes magnify normal factors and make us see what would otherwise pass unnoticed. The boy who wrote this exercise is simply an exaggerated result of all formal education. In some schools I have seen half the work in history, grammar or geography as little related to life as in this paper. This boy has good penmanship and fair spelling; in the perfunctory work so often seen the child adds to these accomplishments the power of putting words together in sequences that sound reasonable. But, unless the work is vitally related to the realities of life, analysis, parsing, bounding countries, history recitations, spelling, and much of reading and arithmetic, may have no more content than the deaf boy's "Singing Leaves."

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. VI.

Generalizations.

If we take the important strands out of the tables printed last month, combining the choices made by the children at different ages, we find that the large totals stand:

	Boys.	Girls.
Acquaintance	30%	50%
Contemporary and historical	51%	32%
Literary character	2%	4%
Writers	6%	8%
Deity	4%	4%
Miscellaneous	7%	3%
Total	100%	101%

Let us examine each of these strands separately. Forty per cent. of the children choose an acquaintance ideal, the choice being much more common with girls than with boys. Combining boys and girls, we find that the tendency to make this choice declines steadily as the children grow older:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	65%	53%	46%	35%	31%	27%	17%

Judging from these figures, young children choose acquaintance ideals much oftener than the older ones do. Young children represent undeveloped mind; and hence the choosing of acquaintances as ideals would seem to belong to undeveloped minds. Since the girls are given to this sort of choice does it follow that they have less developed minds than their brothers?

What part do the father and mother play in swelling the number of acquaintance choices? They furnish 7 per cent. of the boy's choices and 12 per cent. of the girl's. The choice dies out as follows:

Ages	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	18%	14%	11%	9%	4%	4%	5%

The choice is much greater with still younger children. Would it not become greater again with young people of twenty or twenty-five? Are not children of the ages we are examining attracted by new and outside influences? If not, why are fathers and mothers so seldom working ideals in children's lives?

"Other relatives" are chosen by 6 per cent. of the boys and 7 per cent. of the girls. All told, relatives furnish but 16 per cent. of the ideals chosen by these children.

We made a mistake in using the heading "Contemporary character." In working over the papers we found it very difficult to decide whether such characters as Queen Victoria and Mr. McKinley were contemporaries or historical characters. To avoid this difficulty we combined the two headings under the general term "Contemporary and historical." Lower down in the list, under "Literary character," we introduced "Writers;" and we kept special lists for "Longfellow" and "Shakespeare." An examination of actual papers shows that these choices have no literary significance. The children choose to be like Longfellow for the same range of reasons that they give for Washington or Lincoln. Hence the entries under "Writers" should be transferred to "Contemporary and historical." With this correction, we find that 58 per cent. of the boys and 40 per cent. of the girls choose some public character as their ideal. Combining boys and girls the movement across the years is:

Ages . . .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	24%	29%	44%	52%	59%	66%	69%

This choice increases steadily with advancing years. Since the older children have more highly developed minds than the younger ones, and since public characters are chosen by the older children, it seems to follow that such a choice indicates developed mind. Have the boys, then, more developed minds than the girls because they more often choose public characters?

Among the purely contemporary characters, President Roosevelt has the largest group of admirers; but even he would not command a following of more than two or three in a hundred. Among historical characters, Washington and Lincoln stand forth above all others as representative of the children's ideals. Twenty-eight per cent. of the boys and 11 per cent. of the girls

choose Washington; and 6 per cent. of boys and 3 per cent. of girls choose Lincoln. In some of the Trenton, N. J., schools the number of boys choosing Washington ran as high as 49 per cent., evidently due to the study of local history. Is it desirable that the admiration of our children should gather so strongly around two or three national heroes? Is the personality of George Washington overworked in elementary education, so that adults are tired of him? Is it well to use up our greatest Americans for nursery purposes? These lists of figures answer none of these questions, but they raise them if one keeps an active mind as he works.

Among writers, Longfellow is the favorite of the children. They say he was great, famous, rich, kind and loved by every one.

This is an age of popularized literature. Free libraries and cheap magazines are everywhere; and stories and poetry have been made the main culture material in many of our elementary schools. Public library statistics show that about 75 per cent. of the books drawn by children are fiction, and yet in selecting an ideal but 2 per cent. of the boys and 5 per cent. of the girls turn to the world of the imagination. Do even children keep the world of romance so distinct from the world of the real that they cannot quite imagine themselves living in it? Or, is there an attraction about real men and real women which romance cannot completely counterfeit?

Out of 1,900 choices only 24 are foreign; 1,876 children out of 1,900 chose an American for their ideal. Does this mean that we are provincial? Is it not a remarkable illustration of the way in which we have been able to impose our ideals on the millions who have come to us from European homes? Is it a desirable condition?

Under "Religion" we find that 4 per cent. of the boys and an equal proportion of the girls want to be like the Deity,—Jesus being chosen more often than God. Is it not singular that out of 1,900 children not one chooses a Bible character, other than Deity, as a living ideal? Is this due to poor Sunday-school teaching? Or, are the Old Testament characters necessarily vague in children's minds?

As we said in our last issue, the military characters could

not be selected out from the children's papers. Our military characters, men like Washington, have been generally conspicuous in civil life, and we could not determine whether in any particular choice the military character was desired or not. It would be interesting to know if our ideals are moving in that direction, but some special test would have to be devised to settle the matter.

Child characters are chosen by 6 per cent. of the boys and 10 per cent. of the girls; and these are generally acquaintances.

Under "Opposite sex chosen" we have gathered the boys who chose some woman as their ideal, 6 per cent., and the girls who chose a man, 35 per cent. Only now and then does a boy choose a woman, and generally it is a little boy choosing his grandmother or his mother. Girls, on the other hand, start with 26 per cent. of male choices at 7 years old and rise to 45 per cent. with the older girls. Why is this? What per cent. of the ideals presented in an ordinary school are women ideals? What part of an ordinary text-book in history deals with women? How could more woman ideals be brought into schools? Does the fact that most of our teachers are women strengthen or weaken the woman ideals presented to school children?

If we turn now to the reasons given for choices made we find the strands too vague and indeterminate for us to rest any strong generalizations on them. One cannot even be sure that he has entered the data fairly under the headings selected.

"Qualities of character" are given by about half the children, showing that moral qualities are at least the things which children think they ought to like. For the most part, these qualities are vague goodness; and I believe this is the most admirable attribute in children's minds.

Boys leave more papers blank than do the girls; and they care more for "Material possessions" and for "Power to do things" than girls do.

Only 3 per cent. of boys and the same proportion of girls make an altruistic choice, seeking the good of others.

These are the generalizations that these figures seem to warrant. Their bearing upon educational practice is very important, and often obvious. In the next issue we shall deal with this party of the study.

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS FUTURE OCCUPATION.*

The masses of the people in Europe and America became politically self-conscious with the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth; they are becoming industrially self-conscious to-day. That is to say, while formerly a few men thought of their own work in its relation to the world's work, to-day every worker is thinking, at least in some vague degree, of himself as a part of the world's working machinery. Even a comparatively uneducated member of a trade's union in London feels a touch of sympathy when he hears that a great strike has been declared in Australia; or a touch of professional apprehension when he purchases an article bearing a German or an American trade mark.

This self-consciousness has been quickened by international competition, made possible by the perfected means of communication that belong to our times. All the world is to-day competing for all the world's markets. American tools, shoes and soap are sold in the stores of London and Berlin; while "Made in Germany" can be read on articles in every market of the world.

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*Some work in this field has already been done. In November, 1893, we sent out a syllabus from Stanford University in which the children were asked: What do you wish to be when grown up? Why? Papers were collected from 1,214 children; and subsequently Mrs. Hattie Mason Willard gathered 1,234 papers written by children on the lines of a story in which various occupations were suggested. Mrs Willard worked up all of these papers and the results were printed under the title *Children's Ambitions* in the first volume of these *Studies*, p. 243. The conclusions are unimportant.

In 1894, the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York sent out a Syllabus prepared by Mr. Charles H. Thurber, asking for compositions on the topics:

What I want to do next year, and why.

What I want to do when I'm a man (or woman), and why. Two thousand of these papers were worked up by Mr. J. P. Taylor of Colgate University, and the results were printed under the title *Children's Hopes* in the Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for New York, 1895-96. Mr. Taylor used a cumbersome system of classification, but his conclusions as to the effect of the parent's occupation upon the child's choice, the growth of altruism the growth of moral consideration and the general characteristics of the children's papers at successive ages, give the paper permanent value

In the *Child Study Monthly* for February, 1896, S. B. Housh gives the results of a study on 450 papers, using Mr. Thurber's topics. The paper was called *A Study of Children's Hopes*. It gives some very fragmentary quantitative results

In 1896, Mr. Charles H. Thurber read a paper before the National Educational Association on *What Children want to do when they are Men and Women*. It is printed in the Proceedings for that year, and it is simply an incomplete summary of the work credited to Mr. Taylor, above.

Another study on Children's Ambitions, by Will S. Monroe, appeared in the *New England Journal of Education*, June 18, 1896. I have not been able to see it.

Papers on this subject, based on considerable ranges of data, have been read before the British Association for Child Study by Miss Mary Crees and by Miss S. Young, and an extended study has been made by Miss Kate Stevens.

This fact was brought home to me with startling vividness last summer in revisiting a farm that I had known in Northern New York, fifteen years ago. Then it was a microcosm of industry. It raised almost all that was used by the family except tea and coffee. Its owner had several men in his employ and while he took in only about a thousand dollars a year in money, he expended less than a hundred. Everything was conducted on a basis of barter, and the farm literally supported its inhabitants. Last year I found the people on the farm buying their meat, their flour, and even their butter. The farm had been turned into a cattle pasture; grain was brought seventeen hundred miles from the plains of Kansas and Nebraska to feed these cattle; and the milk was sent each morning three hundred and fifty miles in refrigerator cars to be marketed in Philadelphia. Such are the changes in industrial life brought about by larger competition, due to improved means of communication.

Under the stimulus of this industrial self-consciousness, the peoples of the earth are giving great attention to commercial and industrial education. In England especially, the industrial need is constantly put forward as a reason for strengthening popular education. In the addresses of the last three years made by leaders of English thought, one hears little of developing the individual for his own needs, or of making good citizens. The talk is all of preserving industrial and commercial leadership.

In America we have multiplied polytechnic institutes, engineering departments in universities and agricultural and business colleges. We have carried the element of hand work into all our elementary and secondary education, with the belief that it would give all-around educational development. In fact, educational men and women have been so eager to avoid the charge that they were teaching trades that they have not been willing to give fair attention to the industrial aspects of their work.

And yet there are certain questions touching the industrial life that lies all around and before our children which belong properly in the field of pedagogy. Some of these questions are: Have children vocational aptitudes; or, can any child be fitted by proper education for almost any calling? If children have vocational aptitudes can they be discovered? If so, how and at what age? Should the education of the schools consider these

aptitudes, if they exist; or, should it in any way concern itself with the future working life of its children?

The older educational theorists have given us very little aid in answering such practical questions as these. From Plato to Locke, they have confined themselves to a consideration of the select few, the protectors of the state, the gentlemen of leisure, those who could be educated because they were relieved from the necessity of earning a livelihood. Luther, and his fellow-reformers were interested in all the people, but mainly on the religious side of their lives. With Rousseau the education of workers becomes important; though Émile is, like Locke's children, relieved from the necessity of getting a living. Pestalozzi, among the educational writers, first considers the education of the mass of workers, and in his *Leinhard und Gertrud* he works out the salvation of a village by teaching the people how to work and how to wisely use the products of their labor. Herbert Spencer, in our own day, deals with the problem of education as practically affecting all classes of society; but he deals with the question from philosophical grounds and our questions demand facts.

Autobiography and biography ought to show us how the world's leading characters have been led, or have led themselves to their life work. Unfortunately the records of the childhood of great men have been in the past dominated by a traditional form of treatment which has had little regard for truth. The biographer has felt it necessary to find rudimentary traces of precocity along the lines of future greatness, and truth and proportion have been sacrificed to these necessities. Still some men have told some of the truth about themselves, from the days of Augustine to Rousseau, and others are trying to do it now; and autobiography has much to teach us.

The most valuable source of information, however, lies in ourselves, ourselves considered collectively. If we could each write out the varying ideals of work that have at different times appealed to us and if we could describe the influences that seem to have shaped our choice and held us to it, and if we could then combine these results we should learn much concerning a child's attitude towards future occupation, and the influences which determine choice. We shall some day, I believe, reach a professional standard where we shall recognize that we have no more

right to withhold such knowledge from our fellow educators than a physician has to withhold the knowledge of a new anesthetic from his professional co-workers.

But meantime something can be done with children directly, and in two ways. We can put concrete problems or direct questions to them as the basis of composition exercises; and we can generalize this matter to find the conditions prevailing in our schools; or we can select a few typical children and keep notes on everything we see in them or in their work or reading that seems connected with future occupation. Such records, kept through a few years, would be profoundly valuable.

As an inductive inquiry it is clear that the question is far from simple. Political needs, religious teachings, class distinctions, the traditions and habits of social life all seize on the child even before he is born and try to make him a soldier, a priest, a diplomat, a lawyer, an engineer, a butler or a farmer. With a girl these shaping powers are still more eternally and remorselessly at work, but mainly in negative directions. Besides this, the occupations of adult life involve many considerations quite beyond the power of a child to imagine or comprehend. Hence any child we may examine is in the first place surrounded by a network of shaping influences working in the interest of organized society, and in the second place he is ignorant of a great many of the possibilities on which we want him to pass judgment. And yet the only one who can tell if a child has vocational tastes and activities that may be wisely used in his education is the child himself. If he has a native taste which is constructive, argumentative, administrative or artistic, I believe it will sometimes shine out, even through his social environment and his ignorance, and we can find some traces of it.

This paper is based mainly on a study of 2,360 papers, 1,000 written by boys and 1,360 by girls in the London Board Schools. Comparisons with the studies already printed are difficult to make as each writer has used a different scheme of classification for his data, and the results are very imperfectly reported. Mr. Housh does not give us percentages nor does he tell us how many papers were written; he says they were gathered in a school where there were 450 pupils but evidently all did not write. Mr. Taylor gives charts for some callings but no tables, and

Mrs. Willard gives only a part of her tables. Besides this, it is almost useless to compare English children of the laboring and artizan classes living in London with American children of all classes living in town and country. This is a field of study where we need to have the investigation repeated many times under conditions that admit of comparison.

The callings open to boys and girls are so different that their choices must be considered separately. The following table shows the callings chosen by the boys in the London Board Schools. When a boy gave two equal choices both were entered and so the totals are more than 100.

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Total.
Laborer	18%	12%	13%	16%	10%	15%	14%
Artizan	31%	38%	43%	46%	46%	44%	41%
Transportation	20%	25%	26%	24%	27%	30%	22%
Business	16%	10%	11%	7%	17%	19%	13%
Protection	20%	17%	18%	15%	6%	8%	14%
Professional	1%	5%	2%	3%	5%	8%	3%
Totals	106%	108%	113%	115%	111%	124%	108%

From the time they are eight years old until they are thirteen, about 14 per cent. of the boys look forward to the life of an untrained laborer,—they want to mend the streets, collect the garbage or live by odd-jobs. They say: "I think I should like to be a chimney sweeper. Why because I like the work." "I should like to be general laborer because I like the work." If we had included the drivers of vans and street cars and the workers in express offices the number would have been decidedly higher, but these occupations were placed under "Transportation." The monotony in the wording of these papers, and their lack of imagination makes us feel that their writers will probably realize their ideals in future occupation.

The "Artizan" group includes 41 per cent. of the choices made, and increases somewhat with advancing years. The papers are as monotonous as those in the "Laborer" group. "I should like to be a painter. Because my brother was a painter." "I should like to be a bricklayer, because I like bricklaying."

For the boys of a great city all the activities connected with transportation of goods and people seem very attractive. Twenty-two per cent. of the boys chose this line of work, and the number

increases as the children grow older. They say: "I would like to be a tram conductor and have a ride up to Westminster Bridge and back. Because I can give them these tickets." "When I am a man I am going to be a saillor because I like to go on the ship to climb the ropes."

One often hears the complaint in England that free elementary education has made all the boys want to be clerks. This study hardly bears out the charge, for only 13 per cent. of the 1,000 boys examined are thinking of life behind a counter or a desk. This is certainly not an undue proportion for the needs of a city like London.

The army and police service are always attractive to young boys. I have included them both under "Protection," and they amount to 14 per cent. of the choices. In a city where the police and the military make such an imposing and creditable appearance as they do in London, and where recruiting officers in striking uniforms patrol public places like Trafalgar Square looking for young volunteers to swell His Majesty's army and navy it is no wonder that 20 per cent. of the boys at eight are drawn away by the glitter of shoulder straps. It is encouraging for those who dream of peace that the number attracted by the military life dies down steadily to 8 per cent. at thirteen years of age.

Only 3 per cent. of these London boys look forward to a professional career; and these are teachers, architects or civil engineers. Not one suggests the hope that he may follow medicine or law, and only one dreams of the ministry. It is needless to add that he is dreaming of ministering to one of the dissenting sects. The number who look toward the lesser professions increases pretty steadily from 1 per cent. at eight years old to 8 per cent. at thirteen. This line of choice more than any other shows the influence of class distinctions upon future career.

In Mr. Taylor's study on all classes of American children, 6 per cent. of the boys hope to be doctors and 5 per cent. lawyers; in Mr. Housh's study, so far as we can interpret his results, we have 6 per cent. of doctors and 4 per cent. of lawyers; and in Mrs. Willard's study 6 per cent. of each. In this study on the London Board School boys, who are drawn almost entirely from the laboring and artizan classes, instead of more than 100 boys out of a 1,000 aspiring to law and medicine, not one has dreamed

of passing from his own working class into these desirable circles. It is remarkable that even when he is but eight years old society has been able to make the London workingman's boy "know his place."

If we now examine the occupations chosen by girls we find them distributed as follows:

Ages . . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Total.
Domestic work .	36%	35%	50%	36%	38%	28%	37%
Dress	31%	26%	27%	31%	24%	26%	26%
Teacher	21%	26%	28%	19%	24%	28%	24%
Business	6%	9%	16%	7%	15%	12%	10%
Miscellaneous . .	9%	5%	4%	8%	5%	8%	6%

Thirty-seven per cent. choose work in some way connected with the house and the care of little children; they most nearly correspond with laborers among the boys.

Twenty-six per cent. wish to take up skilled handiwork connected with dress.

Twenty-four per cent. choose the profession of teaching.

Ten per cent. choose some business, most of them serving in a shop.

Six per cent. have a miscellaneous choice, generally nurses of the sick.

Housework, dressmaking, teaching and serving in a shop, these are the vocational possibilities that open before these London girls of the working classes.

In the successive ages from eight to thirteen, inclusive, there is little tendency to turn toward any one occupation with advancing years. The number choosing domestic service remains about the same from year to year.

Do these choices of Board School boys and girls represent any strong and abiding tendency, or are they the result of mere caprice? To answer this we should have records kept in schools over a period of several years, and then we should be able to see whether there is anything permanent in these expressed desires.

In 1899, Miss Kate Stevens repeated this test with 129 girls after a year during which neither pupils nor teachers had had the matter called to their attention. Sixty-one per cent. of the girls chose essentially the same occupation the second time as the first. Where there were variations the choice generally fell within the

same general group the last time as the first. Thus of eight who changed from teacher, three chose dressmaker; one, milliner; one, clerk; one, the post office; one, nursemaid, and one would help at home. The number of papers is too small for us to base a decision on the result; but the examination seems to say that the choice made is a fairly consistent one.

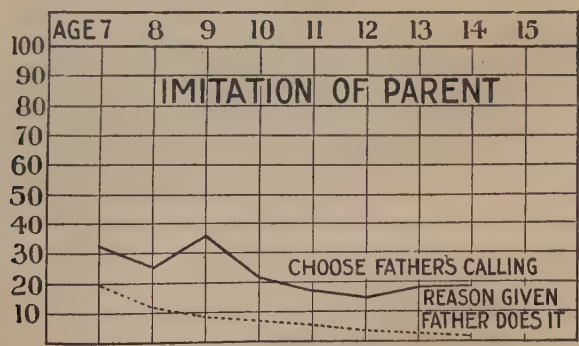
Stronger evidence is furnished by the results of an examination made by the Department of Education as to the occupation actually taken up by the children who left the London Board Schools in 1892 and 1893. Taking the figures for London Board School girls alone we find that while 37 per cent. chose some form of domestic service in their compositions 27 per cent. of those who left the schools in 1892 and 1893 actually went into domestic service. Twenty-six per cent. chose dressmaking and 15 per cent. actually took it up; 10 per cent. chose business and 4 per cent. took it up. The great difference occurs in teaching; 24 per cent. of the girls wished to be teachers and only 3 per cent. went into teaching on leaving school. This is a choice in which we should expect a good deal of difference, the girls had been spending their time in the presence of women teachers who seemed to have a very desirable existence, and thus many of them reached out towards that calling. With the exception of this one choice, the number taking up particular occupations is so close to the number expressing their desire in that direction that we cannot help feeling that the papers do indicate abiding tendencies in their writers. We do not necessarily get the child's ideal choice, but we get his anticipation, and that is a thing we need to know in education whether we wish to help him realize his dream or turn him away from it.

If we turn now to the reasons given by the boys for their choice of occupation we find them very vague and indeterminate. The following table shows the principal groups:

No reason	6%
Earn money	38%
Like it	15%
Imitation of some one	14%
Useful	7%
Patriotism	7%
Travel	7%
Leisure	6%

Self improvement	6%
Healthy	5%
Experience already had	4%
Position, honor	4%
Help others	3%
Parent's wish	3%
Keep my family	2%
Adventure, excitement	2%

It is generally said that children tend to follow their parents' occupation; but while this is probably true in a large way it does not seem to be true in details. We have not the data for determing the parent's calling in any of the studies except that made by Mr. Taylor. The results of his study, as indicated in the following chart, show that less than a quarter of the American children want to take up their parents' calling. Under the conditions of modern democracy parents want their children to have a better life than they have themselves had; and this fact makes selection of a life calling more difficult than ever before.



Most of the reasons given by the girls may be expressed in the phrase "Like it." It is a vague undifferentiated feeling of desire which has never been translated into terms of thought: "I want to do it"; "it is a good trade"; "I think I should like it," say the girls of all ages. Only at thirteen, do the majority of the girls rise to some more concrete reason. The percentages by ages of those who give this reason run:

Ages	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	68%	57%	83%	64%	64%	48%

Those who give money or good wages, as the reason for their choice show an increasing line of tendency after eight:

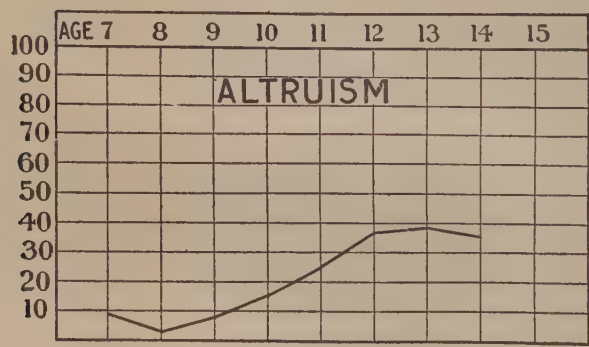
Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	21%	6%	7%	8%	14%	14%

Only 4 per cent. of the girls choose as they do because the work is easy or it would give them leisure. It is interesting to note that this reason increases as the girls grow older.

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	1%	2%	3%	5%	7%	7%

Very few girls give as their reason for choosing a particular work that it is their parent's work or that their parents desire them to do it. It may be one of those reasons that the girls take for granted; in any case, it is mentioned by only seventy-four out of 1,360 girls, five in a hundred.

Mr. Taylor found altruistic reasons given for choices as represented on the following chart:



In this study only 3 per cent. of the boys say they are choosing their work so that they can help some one else; but the girls form an important series:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
	9%	13%	17%	19%	13%	21%

This is a very important motive with girls, and increasingly so with years. The drop in altruistic feeling at twelve agrees with other studies we have made. Is it not possible that a child's

outgoing impulses grow steadily until puberty, and with attempts to realize them drop back, and only recover later with larger knowledge?

Less than 2 per cent. of the girls speak of their special fitness, as a reason for the choice they make, and most of these are among the prospective teachers. Three only, speak of health as playing any part in choice. Twelve, less than 1 per cent., mention desire for honor or glory.

To sum up the reasons given by the girls for their choice we should say that it is generally a vague feeling of desire with a growing thought of helping others, and a slowly increasing desire to get money and to have an easy time.

The thing that impresses one most of all in working over the girls' papers is the fact that their future occupation has not, in most cases, risen to self-consciousness. They have simply not considered the possibilities at all, but are drifting along with a blind faith that in some way they will find the right thing to do, and that having found it they will know how to do it. In the development of the human race it is a law that our personal and social activities are for a long time directed by blind impulses, and only gradually do we become conscious of them and of the laws that govern us, both in our individual and in our social capacities. Man's political wisdom, for example, is at first only a blind and unquestioning devotion to his family, his clan, his chief. Gradually he becomes aware of certain political facts; he becomes politically self-conscious. Premature self-consciousness is always a mistake; I believe that to-day most of us are best off if the affairs of digestion, love and religion remain unconscious in us. I would trust the blind feelings of the masses in these matters more than I would their reasoned judgments. On the other hand, I believe that we Anglo-Saxons have reached a point where we must be politically and industrially self-conscious. If when the time comes for self consciousness in any line it is restrained, we have to meet all the evils of arrested development. We have a force or power lacking adequate directing intelligence, and ultimately we shall have, first, social congestion and then outbreak.

The question here is whether women of the working classes have reached a point when they ought to begin to think definitely

about their life's work as individuals, or whether it is best to let them be guided as in the past by the rather blind accidents of family interests, accidental openings, marriage and personal influences.

It would be foolish for me to answer such a question for England; but for America, there can be no question that we have gone so far with common and higher education that our only safety lies in knowledge and in trying to understand. Women are drifting through the high schools and colleges with no idea of what they are going to do and already their possible lines of industrial activity are congested and adjustment has become very difficult.

This study especially emphasizes those class differences which make so strong an impression on an American observer in England. Under the highly developed social conditions there, a child of the masses by the time he is eight years old has his circle of possible future activity so clearly defined in his mind that even under the treatment of a school exercise he does not look over into the forbidden fields of work that belong to his superiors.

This fact comes out strongly in a comparison which I made between papers written by Board School children in the factory district of Bermondsey and those written by children in wealthy English homes.* The first group said:

"When I leave school, I should like to be a soldier. My reason is because my uncle is one and I should like to be one."—Boy, eleven years old.

"I should like to be a Carpenter Because my mother says I can be one."—Boy, eight years old.

"I should like to be a Cooper Because I like to make barrels."—Boy, nine years old.

When a girl makes a little wider excursion into the reasons for a choice, one gets the following:—

"I should like to be a housemaid because I am very fond of doing work at home."

"I think it would be very nice to go out to a situation."

"I should to make a good clean housemaid."

"I should like to go out when I am older to earn my own living."—Girl, twelve years old.

* Adapted from *Freedom in Education* in Child Life. April, 1900.

Now bring into contrast with these a set of answers written by children of the same ages from the cultured homes of England. I take them, quite by chance, as they happen to come in a pile of papers:

"I want to be a 'red cross' nurse, as it is next best to being a soldier."—Girl, thirteen years old.

"I should like to marry Maurice and have a big house in Scotland and a little house in London, so as I could come and live there in the Winter."—Girl, nine years old.

"One thing I should like to do would be to be a very clever naturalist, and to know everything about everything alive or in the country world."—Girl, thirteen years old.

"I should like to be a piano teacher, when I grow up, for then I shall be able to learn to play many pieces of poetry."—Girl, ten years old, at Pretoria.

"I would like to be a nurse to short-coated babies."—Girl, eight years old.

"I would like to be like Major —— because I like carpentering very much and he carpenters beautifully Once he bought a box for his silver and there was one tray to it and he wanted to make little fittings for the silver so first he painted some names on some paper of all the different things he had; then he cut them out and supposing he wanted to put knives and forks in quickly he would have a little name written down where they ought to go and he made the fittings most beautifully quite as well as any shop would."—Boy, eight years old.

"To be in the army and see active service."—Boy, ten years old.

"I should like to be a mother when I am grown up."—Girl, thirteen years old.

I hardly need to characterize the difference in these two sets of papers. The first group of children apply to this concrete problem of life a dull and inflexible intellect, a circumscribed and undeveloped imagination. There is no fancy, no mere reaching out after self-realization. They know that what they do in life must first of all *pay*. They see only the few well-worn paths leading out from the position of eight years old in Bermondsey—paths clearly marked with the footsteps of father, uncle or brother, and leading straight to barrel, brick and *pay*.

What a long call to that other world, where it is good to do things because your heart goes out after them, that you may know "everything about everything alive, or in the country world"; that one may "learn to play many pieces of poetry"; or that one may glory in the joy of making things!

Another strong difference in these vocational choices comes out in a comparison of papers written by children in London and children of the same class in the countryside. The children in the country come into such immediate contact with certain forms of industry that they have a much more full and concrete sense of their future working life than have their city cousins. Take, for instance, the following papers written by children on the North Norfolk coast:

Boy, eleven years: "When I grow up I would like to be a Carpenter. The reason why I should like to be a Carpenter because there is money to be earned by making things they have many tools. When I leave school I should like to learn to be a carpenter. I would like to hear the noise of the hammers and the sawing of the timbers but you must look out for your fingers for you might hurt one of them. That is not dirty work. Carpenters are very claver in making things like carts, tables,"

Boy, twelve years: "When I grow up I should like to be an Engineer. [Mechanics are called Engineers in England.] Why I should like to be an Engineer is because there is plenty of money to be earned by making engines the engines are very hard to make and it is very dirty I should like to hear the noise of the iron being hammered by the men some of the men work all the night and the others in the daytime. The men must be very careful in making the engines."

Girl, eleven years: "When I leave school I should like to go in the Post-office because that is nice clean work, and you are paid well, and do not have to work many hours of the day. It is nice interesting work serving out stamps and writing out money orders and sending telegraph messages after you have served there so long and done your duty you will get a pension."

Girl, twelve years: "When I leave school I should like to be a housemaid Why because it is nice clean work housemaid have to wear prints in the morning and take hot water for baths and make the beds sweep the bedrooms and dust them and clean the

stoves. Afternoon have to wear Black dresses a white muslin apron white cap with two bands to hang down behind and clean the silver get the teatable ready for the Mistress & Master I Should like"

In all the London papers I found none to compare with these in intelligent understanding of the joy of work.

This study seems to justify the following conclusions:

There is something permanently significant in children's ambitions; and while the particular form of work actually undertaken in adult life may be and often is different from that anticipated by the child it still remains true that he has a pretty distinct feeling after he is eight or nine years old as to the general sort of work in which he will spend his life.

With girls, especially, the reasons why an occupation is desired are very hazy and indeterminate. They simply feel drawn or impelled toward a particular line of work.

Country children are much more vigorously in touch with their future work than are city children.

Class distinctions, especially in England, largely determine a child's attitude toward work. Children of the higher classes live in a large free atmosphere of possibility, much more conducive to generous growth than that in which the children of the masses live.

Since, then, children have vocational aptitudes, and since they can be in some measure discovered, should we recognize them in our educational work? I should say not directly in the elementary school period. The children in these schools are already too narrowly bound in by their prospective work; the children of the masses need to have their curriculum broadened rather than narrowed to any form of direct preparation for trade.

At the same time our present curriculum is a survival of mediæval and reformation ideals, and it needs some very large changes to bring it into living relations with the life of present day boys and girls. We need a new scientific industrial humanism that shall present the actual life of to-day in its most attractive and romantic aspects. In connection with reading lessons and composition work the children of all classes should come into contact with a great variety of the world's work. They should learn not only of the men and women who have fought our battles and

made our laws, but also of those who have built our bridges and railways, established factories, perfected inventions, and opened up lines of commerce. In all these large and human ways we should recognize the fact that the children in our schools are going to spend their lives in work.

Whether we should teach industrial contentment or not will depend upon our philosophy of life. Mr. Taylor correctly notes that "The small number of extravagant impossible hopings seems quite remarkable." I cannot, however, agree with his further conclusions: "The apparent contentment with the lot nature has given them, the genuine delight with which the poorer children look forward to the severe monotonous labors that the future holds in store, the glad willingness to share the heavy burdens of supporting their father's family, all are witnesses to the triumph of childhood's hope and idealism over the toil and pain of the world." It seems to me that this is a triumph of ignorance; and each new generation which is chained to the pick and the loom will awaken, often to recklessness or to despair. If we 415,000 teachers in America knew what the worker ought to be, we could settle the industrial problems of the future in the school rooms.

SCHOOL GIRLS' IDEAS OF WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS.

SARAH YOUNG.

The girls educated in the London elementary schools, on leaving school to begin their industrial or professional life have not so many different employments open to them as their brothers. They may become domestic servants, typewriters or stenographers, elementary teachers, shop assistants, dressmakers, milliners or factory hands in some one of the trades open to women. The large majority of them will find a place in one or other of these classes. What determines the actual choice in any individual case —chance or deliberate thought based on knowledge of the conditions of the particular calling selected? The present inquiry sought to determine this with regard to some of the girls educated in London elementary schools. The age of the girls who were the subjects of the inquiry varied from eleven to fourteen years; they were all pupils in London Board Schools; the schools were in different localities varying from the poverty-stricken, congested East-end districts to the smarter suburbs.

The test was as follows: What are the reasons that would make a girl want to be (for example, a domestic servant), on leaving school? What are the disadvantages do you think of this occupation?

Five occupations for women were dealt with in this manner; domestic service, dressmaking, serving in a shop, teaching and typewriting. Some data were collected with regard to factory-work, but were not included in the statistics given below, as the conditions in the different trades were too diverse for comparison. A scheme for classifying the data thus furnished was arranged before any of the papers were examined; this scheme was based on the general conditions that seemed to determine the relative value of any occupation. It was as follows:

1. The material advantages or disadvantages of the particular occupation, including wages, chances of obtaining employment, stress of competition.

2. The amount of free time possible to the worker at the close of the working day or during holidays.

3. The character of the work, including such considerations as attractiveness, difficulty, monotony, healthiness or the reverse of any of these qualities.

4. The social attitude towards the particular employment, its respectability, gentility or the reverse.

5. The preparation required for such work, including the cost, length of time, difficulty or the reverse.

This scheme was then compared with the remarks in Mr. Charles Booth's "Life and Labor of the People in London," on the causes that determine choice of employment among the London working classes. There we read, "The wages to be paid will be compared with the working hours and the chances of obtaining regular employment" . . . and the following questions will be asked, "Is the work dangerous or unhealthy or dirty? Is it monotonous or varied? Is it accounted respectable? What are the opportunities of advancement including that of starting on one's own account? What holidays are there?"

With confirmation from so high an authority no hesitation was felt in adopting a classification of data under the headings of:

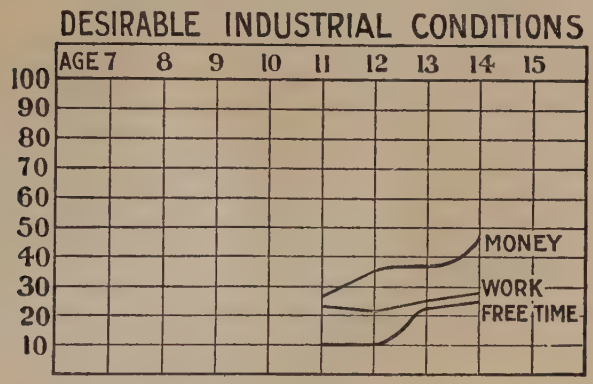
1. Material advantages or disadvantages.
2. Amount of leisure.
3. Character of the work.
4. Social attitude towards the work.
5. Preparation for the work.

The papers were subsequently found to justify the above classification. The only addition to the above headings was made with two of the employments, domestic service and dressmaking, where a large number of the girls discussed the advantages to the future wife and mother of acquaintance with the respective domestic arts involved. At some ages, nearly 50 per cent. of the writers did this, showing how the future London working girl, as a matter of course, considers marriage as the inevitable final career of a woman.

All the papers were first read with the object of discovering what percentage of the writers think of money advantages in estimating the value of any employment, or of the leisure offered,

or of the attractiveness of the work itself, and the following statistics represent the results obtained:

Ages	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Money advantages	27%	35%	37%	46%
Attractiveness of work	25%	21%	26%	29%
Amount of free time	10%	10%	23%	25%



It will be seen from these statistics that as the girls grow older, they become more and more conscious of the factors in any employment which make it of marketable value. More of the writers at any age consider the condition of good wages than the attractiveness of the work or the amount of free time given. This does not mean that their views are low or sordid. The money equivalent for labor must of necessity throughout the whole of industrial life remain a paramount consideration, and these girls in placing it first are only antedating later experience.

The results under the headings, "Social attitude towards the work, and "Preparation for the work" were not charted as there were not a sufficient number of the writers mentioning these conditions to make the tabulation worth while. Only 11 per cent. of all the writers of all ages mention the place in social estimation of the particular occupation they are discussing, and only 13 per cent. of all ages touch upon the preparation or lack of it involved, and 10 per cent. of these are included in the discussion of the occupation of elementary teacher.

The above includes the results of the first analysis of the

evidence. The papers were again arranged in packets under the headings, Domestic Service, Teaching, Typewriting, Dressmaking, Serving in a shop, and each of these bundles of papers was read a second time and a classification of the data was made for each occupation under the original headings. The object now was to discover how many of the writers on domestic service, for example, considered it a desirable or undesirable employment from the point of view of "Material Advantages or Disadvantages," "Amount of Leisure," "Character of the Work," "Social Attitude towards the work." This was done with each of the occupations and the percentages were tabulated thus:

WHY DESIRABLE.

Ages	11 yrs. Material Considerations.	12 yrs. Leisure.	13 yrs Character of Work.	14 yrs. Social Attitude.
Domestic service	46%	8%	7%	17%
Teaching	22%	23%	45%	2%
Typewriting	69%	30%	52%	11%
Dressmaking	39%	2%	17%	0%
Serving in a shop . . .	14%	10%	24%	0%

WHY UNDESIRABLE.

Ages	11 yrs. Material Considerations.	12 yrs. Lack of Leisure.	13 yrs. Character of Work.	14 yrs. Social Attitude.
Domestic service	13%	17%	28%	15%
Teaching	0%	11%	57%	0%
Typewriting	6%	3%	73%	0%
Dressmaking	11%	21%	86%	3%
Serving in a shop . . .	29%	59%	60%	6%

It can be easily seen from the above tables, that in estimating the possiblities of an occupation, each writer does not mention all the conditions included in the statistics given above. One writer, for example, might consider domestic service a lucrative occupation, but laborious, and she might omit all consideration of it from the point of view of free time or social estimation. Another writer might mention the monotonous character of typewriting and omit all mention of money return for the work. An adult in discussing typewriting as a permanent occupation, would balance the facts that it is easy work, with little anxiety or responsibility, involving little outlay of time or money for prepara-

tion, and regarded as a genteel employment with a liberal amount of leisure, against other facts, such as the small chance of professional advancement offered, the monotony and mechanical nature of the work, and the great stress of competition which forces down wages. It would be too much to expect from these youthful writers, however, the power to marshall all the pros and cons and weigh them one against the other, even if they were fully acquainted with them all. Turning now to the first column of figures, the "Material considerations," which includes money or other emoluments, we find that the largest number of writers mention advantages under this heading for typewriting. Next in favor is domestic service, while teaching and serving in a shop receive the fewest notes. If we turn now to the negative evidence given in the tables under the heading, "Why undesirable," we find that none of the writers consider teaching to be non-lucrative, and only 6 per cent. of them say that a typewriter's work is not well-paid. Putting the results together that are embodied in the two tables under the heading, "Material considerations," we should say that typewriting and domestic service rank first, serving in a shop lowest, and teaching and dressmaking occupy an intermediate place, teaching being lower than dressmaking in these writers' estimation. The advantages of a good home, with comfortable board and lodging are emphasized by many of these writers on domestic service, and it is this consideration that places this occupation so high in the tables given. It is somewhat curious, however, that so few of the writers think of these advantages in connection with a shop assistant's work. Dressmaking emoluments are put higher than a shop assistant's by the girls, because it is evident from the papers that they are thinking of the small suburban dressmaker in business for herself, who has everything she earns, rather than of the bodice or skirt hand of a large business house.

If we turn now from these papers to expert evidence, we shall find that these young writers are chiefly wrong in the estimate they have of the pecuniary results of teaching and typewriting work. Of all the occupations here included, teaching is the most lucrative. A woman assistant teacher in the service of the London Board, trained and certificated, has an initial salary of from £80 to £90 and this salary gradually in-

creases according to merit and length of service to about £140, while to quote from the Englishwoman's Year Book, "No other profession except the Civil Service offers the same security of tenure." With regard to typewriting, a committee of the Woman's Industrial Council was appointed a few years ago to investigate the conditions of employment of woman typewriters. It was found according to their report, "that really capable and well-educated girls, knowing one or more foreign languages earn £2 a week or more. Intelligent girls not so well-educated, earn from 20*s.* a week to 30*s.* a week, while girls recruited almost entirely from the artisan and lower middle classes have wages ranging from 10*s.* to 15*s.* a week. The Board School pupils who become typewriters would be chiefly included in this last class, and hence there is a wide discrepancy between these youthful writers' ideas of the relative monetary advantages of the teaching and typewriting vocations and the actual facts. Of course the long and expensive preparation for the teaching profession must be set against the monetary advantages ultimately obtained, but just at present we are considering the wage question alone. If we turn now to the high place given by these writers to the remuneration of domestic service we shall find expert testimony more in accordance with theirs. In Mr. Charles Booth's "Life and Labor of the People in London," we read, "There can be little doubt that from a monetary point of view, the advantages of a servant's life are great and it is not uncommon to find girls who dislike its restraints and suffer much from home sickness willing to endure it for a long time in order to be able to send home the help which its remuneration enables them to spare." Again, at the Conference of Woman Workers in 1894, Lady Laura Ridding said that "Servants' wages make the payments to factory-hands, shop-assistants, milliners and dressmakers appear in comparison extraordinarily low."

Here again, we must recollect that it is not wages alone which measures the value of different employments, or possibly there would be no domestic servant problem to be discussed at Women's Congresses, but, as before, we are isolating, for the moment, one condition of employment from others and considering it alone.

We will now consider the second columns of figures, those under the headings, Leisure and Lack of Leisure.

Thirty per cent. of the writers dwell upon the relative freedom of the typewriter's life, while 23 per cent. of them consider that one of the chief attractions of a teacher's career is the length of the vacations and the fact that she has, as they express it, her evenings to herself and Saturdays and Sundays. In the other set of tables 11 per cent., on the contrary, complain that a teacher's work is never done, but here they are evidently thinking more of the pupil-teacher's life, filled as it is too often with teaching and learning during the day and studying at home at night. Thus, more of the writers dwell upon the advantages and fewer upon the disadvantages of a teacher's and a typewriter's work from the point of view of free time than of any other of the occupations included here, and their evidence concurs with experience. A teacher and a typewriter have shorter working hours and more independence in their leisure time than the majority of domestic servants, or dressmakers, or shop-girls.

A very large percentage of the writers emphasize the little personal freedom and the small amount of leisure in the shop assistant's life. Again and again, they dwell upon the lateness of closing of shops with which they are familiar; they are evidently better acquainted with the smaller retail establishments of suburban or East-End districts than they are with the large business houses of the city or West-End where conditions are more favorable.

It is somewhat surprising that even 8 per cent. of the writers should include among the attractive features of a domestic servant's life, leisure and personal freedom, since as is well-known, it is the unbroken though limited free time and comparative independence of factory life which chiefly induces so many girls to prefer its precarious conditions to the more comfortable material setting of a domestic servant's existence. The evidence in Mr. Charles Booth's "Life and Labor of the People in London" is again suggestive in connection with this question: "Many young women turn to domestic service only temporarily when work is slack or when they think a change would be pleasant. To them the loss of independence which service entails becomes unbearable; they prefer the smaller wage and comparative freedom of factory life and return to it."

The next column of figures gives us the evidence of the writers as to the character of the work itself in the different occupations. In the first table, the largest percentage of votes is given in favor of typewriting and the one feature which commends it to the writers is its lack of laboriousness and difficulty; on the other hand, according to the second table 73 per cent. dwell upon the monotony and lack of interest in the work, together with the effect on the nerves of the constant clicking of the machine. Teaching comes next in favor according to the first table, and here the elder writers, especially, dwell upon the pleasure of being with little children, and upon the variety and interest of the work. It is somewhat surprising that so many as 57 per cent. of the writers refer to the reverse side of a teacher's life and the crudeness of the juvenile evidence is very apparent here. The experienced teacher would dwell upon the arduousness and responsibilities and inadequate return connected with the work, but unless she had special difficulty in controlling a class she would not emphasize the naughtiness of the children, their proneness to mischief, their noise and fidgetiness. These qualities would be accepted as a matter of course since they are universal. These childish writers, however, who have evidently through their own experience of reproof and prohibition, learned what is obnoxious to an adult nervous system, urge as drawbacks to a teacher's life, the dropping of slates and pencil boxes on the floor, the whispering among the children, their inattention in a lesson, their forgetfulness of yesterday's commands, and a like list of childish offences.

A much smaller number of writers find advantages in a dressmaker's or shop-assistant's work, while 86 per cent. emphasize the drawbacks connected with dressmaking as an occupation, and 60 per cent. do the same with a shop-assistant's work. The close confinement and continued sitting is the feature that is most repugnant to these active young writers in dressmaking, while not a few emphasize the difficulty of pleasing capricious customers and the irregularity of employment due to the shortness of the fashionable season. The long standing in draughty, ill-ventilated, ill-warmed shops and the tiresomeness of customers are the drawbacks to which they are most alive in a shop-assistant's work. The feminine instinct for dress is apparently the

reason why some find these two occupations attractive in themselves; they dwell upon the pleasure of handling delicate or pretty materials or of making beautiful clothes. The prospect of ultimately having a business of her own is frequently mentioned as one of the reasons why a girl would choose to be a dressmaker. Few mention any attraction connected with a domestic servant's work, while on the other hand, 28 per cent. dwell upon its laboriousness and the dull life associated with it. The evidence here and that under the heading "Lack of Leisure," received confirmation from a set of papers relating to factory work obtained from a school in the East-End. The choice of employment with these girls would be between domestic service and employment in neighboring gum or jam or dyeing factories. They were asked what they considered to be the advantages and disadvantages of factory work. They admit the low wages of the factory, the dirty work, the fact "that you hear bad words," that "rude girls push you about," but they say also, "It is jolly at a factory," "you see more life than in service," "girls leave service to go to a factory because they cannot come out often." To quote again from "Life and Labor of the People in London," "The dullness which is the complaint universally urged against single-handed places of all kinds is felt very keenly by children of fifteen or so; they have always been accustomed to live in a crowd and are frightened by the loneliness of the long evenings in which they have to sit in the kitchen by themselves, or be left entirely alone in the house."

Under the last heading of our tables, "Social attitude towards the work," the statistics with regard to domestic service are the most noteworthy. The 17 per cent. of the writers who value this occupation because of the social regard that they say is attached to it are all from East-End schools. They compare it explicitly with factory work and pronounce it to be "more respectable." They are evidently voicing an opinion which has been imposed upon them in school, and one to which they will most probably not adhere when the moment comes for their own choice of work. On the other side are 15 per cent. of the writers, all girls from schools in districts of higher social grade; they affirm that domestic service is only for "common girls," for those who cannot get anything better, or for those whose parents cannot afford to keep them at home while they are learning a business or profession.

Eleven per cent. of the writers approve of typewriting because it is lady-like or genteel, or "work that a lady can do" and they compare it with domestic service and a shop-assistant's work to the disadvantage of both. On the whole, considering that the girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age has so often pretensions to social gentility, it is somewhat surprising that there is not more attempt to measure the relative advantages and disadvantages of these different employments by their caste value.

The general conclusion reached after reading all the papers and classifying the evidence in the manner indicated above, is that the elementary school girl's knowledge on the threshold of her industrial career of the different vocational opportunities presented to her is vague and fragmentary, generally confined to an acquaintance with the neighboring factory or shop, showing little power of balancing advantages and disadvantages, or of offsetting present limitations by future compensations.

Having completed our discussion of these youthful writers' ideas of the possibilities of occupations open to them, let us next compare them with the conditions that actually do determine the choice of any particular employment for the individual. It was of course impossible to discover this with regard to those to whom the test hitherto discussed was given, but one or two subsidiary investigations were undertaken with the object of comparison with the above inquiry. One hundred young women of an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two years, in training for the work of elementary teacher and most of whom had been formerly pupils in elementary schools, were asked the following question:

What reasons influenced you in your choice of teaching as an occupation? Which of the following considerations had weight with you?

1. Parents' wish.
2. Example of any relatives.
3. Example of friend or companion.
4. Advice outside the family.
5. Attractiveness of the work.
6. Market advantages of the profession.
7. A favorable opportunity.

Which reason operated chiefly if you were influenced by more than one?

Ninety-one per cent. said the attractiveness of the work or its monetary advantages influenced them, and 58 per cent. said that these were the chief considerations; 35 per cent. were influenced by the example of parents or relatives, and 19 per cent. by that of companions, while with 12 per cent. imitation was the chief influence; with 53 per cent. the parents' desire was one of the motives determining choice and with 18 per cent. the chief one. Forty-four per cent. were influenced by the advice of friends, and with 9 per cent. this was the most potent reason. Fourteen per cent. were helped to their choice by a favorable opportunity and 3 per cent. were chiefly influenced by this motive. In all, 42 per cent. affirm that reasons other than the attractiveness of the work or its lucrativeness were the chief factors in choice. Eighty-five per cent. say they preferred to teach rather than to do anything else, while 15 per cent. were indifferent or disliked the prospect before them.

In addition to this, some reasons were obtained from two different schools as to the vocation followed by pupils who had left during the previous two years. One of the schools was in the middle of a manufacturing district in the East-End. Eighty per cent. of the pupils of this school chose employment in the neighboring factories, 10 per cent. were doing poorly-paid needlework, 5 per cent. became domestic servants, while 4 per cent. were distributed between teaching and business activities. On the other hand, in a school of higher social grade, where the weekly fee was 1*s.*, and where the pupils remained till they were fourteen or fifteen years of age, 33 per cent. were occupied at home, nominally to assist their mothers in housekeeping; 19 per cent. became teachers, 27 per cent. were employed in various branches of clerical work, 15 per cent. became milliners or dressmakers, and the remaining 6 per cent. were classed as miscellaneous. With the first of these two schools, the desire of personal freedom and independence together with imitation and tradition may be said to have been the determining factors, while with the second, social gentility, custom and imitation were the most operative of the causes at work.

As corroboration of the conclusions reached by these subsidiary investigations, "Life and Labor of the People in London," may again be quoted apropos of the conditions which do determine

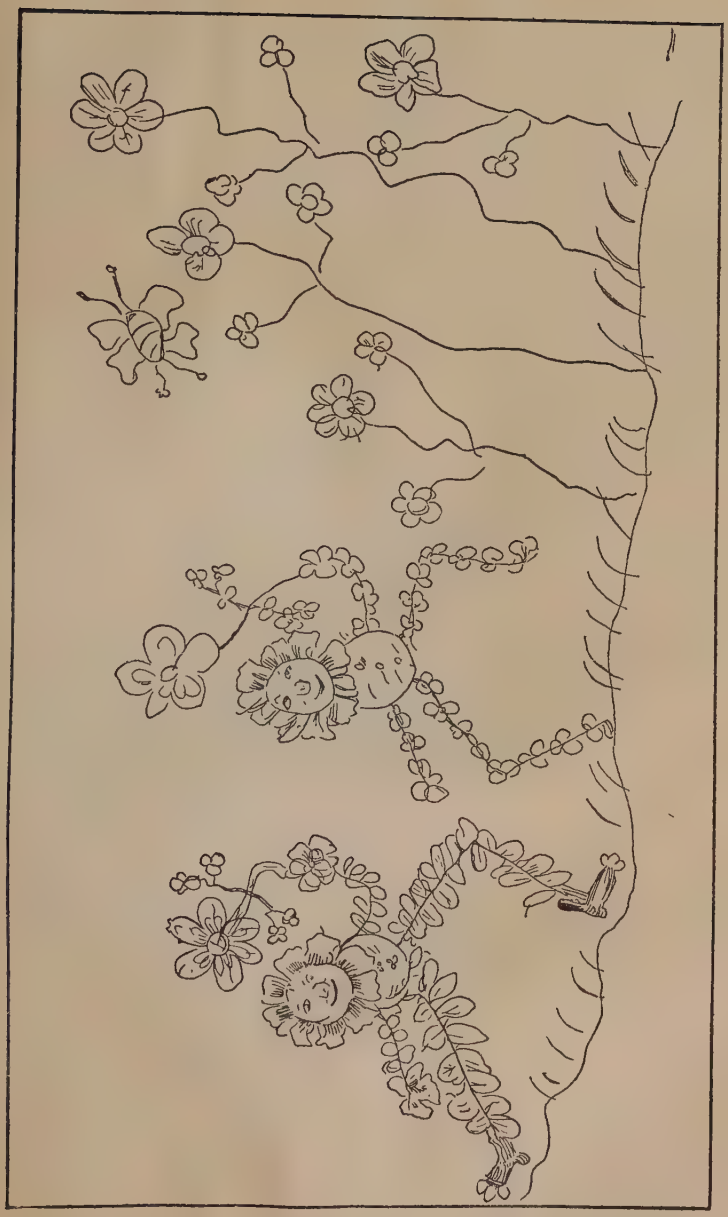
choice of occupation. "In any individual case, it rarely happens that the advantages and disadvantages of different employments are deliberately passed in review—at least with any degree of completeness. The economic adjustment which takes place is due to a much more unconscious process. . . . The traditional occupation of the family is preferred because it is best known, and not because any comparison with others has been made, or the hint of a friend may be acted on. But though the individual often seems to be but the creature of industrial circumstances, hasty and unthinking in action, indiscriminating in choice, and often acting under the pressure of direct personal necessity, in the mass the advantages and disadvantages of particular employments do tell. The English old fixity of condition has passed away. . . . It is the young who are most mobile. In spite of all the limiting influences of ignorance, indifference and poverty, there is among the vast majority of parents and among the young themselves a great amount of active discrimination and shrewd thinking."

To sum up the whole of the inquiry, it is evident that the girls on leaving school have some knowledge of the industrial possibilities before them, but the knowledge is limited by local conditions and is evidently derived from local sources, while although a more fluid condition of things is becoming apparent daily, yet caste, tradition, imitation, are still more influential than intelligent choice based on comparison of different occupations. Can the school do anything towards giving the pupils power to make an intelligent choice, and if so of what nature should the assistance it gives, be? For example:

1. Ought specialized knowledge and skill in any particular trade and calling to form part of the school curriculum?

2. Or is it the province of the elementary school to give to the elder children a knowledge of the general conditions of the different vocations open to them, but without preparation for any?

3. How does the instruction imparted in the London Board Schools and those of any other municipality in the various domestic arts, cooking, laundry and dressmaking assist in leading a girl to the discovery of any special aptitudes of this kind she may possess and so in influencing her vocational choice?



STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. VI.

Fancy.

The picture here reproduced was drawn by a girl six years old. She was a fanciful girl, living in a stimulating home atmosphere and well acquainted with kindergarten songs and plays. She was fond of improvising little chants and then drawing pictures to accompany them. In connection with this picture she sang over the following words:

"It was the faith of fairy-land,
  When children were at play.
The birds were sitting on the boughs,
  A singing every day.

And little roses peeped their heads,
  And looked about and smiled,
While all the pretty daisies looked
  As they were growing wild.
Cunning mosses blooming up,
  Red berries drooping low,
We'll put them in a little cup,
  And there we'll let them grow."

The words and the picture belong together. In each we see the same rhythmical prettiness, the same personification of flowers and the same absence of thought. In the pictures, the rhythm extends to giving each flower two arms like a human being and the dance runs down the whole line. In the verse the absence of thought is conspicuous in the first pair of lines and in the fourth pair; in fact, the whole composition is a harmony of words gathering around the prettiness of flowers. In the picture, the big flowers stand high in air on their vine-like stalks; the impossible insect may be going either up or down; the saucy little flower-fairies dance for the joy of dancing. It is all pure fancy, romping away the summer hours in a field of daisies.

A child's life is full of the impulse here represented; but it finds its fittest expression in romping and shouting; and it is seldom that a child is able to transfer the gladness of his soul to paper. In fact he has very little power to recall his past states of feeling, and so he is swept away by his passions of tears or laughter. When he laughs he cannot believe that he will some day be sad; and when he weeps he cannot remember that he was ever glad.

When a child draws, the effort of will necessary to control the untrained muscles that guide the pencil turns the child constantly away from the attempt to follow the lead of his flitting fancy, and he drops from the poetry that throbs in his veins down to the narrative that evolves in his mind. Untrained muscles can guide the pencil unsteadily along in the track of untrained thinking, but they cannot keep in sight of fancy. Hence a child's drawing is almost always narrative, not fanciful.

The little artist who drew this picture had been stimulated by her environment, and encouraged to string words together in jingles. These were then gathered up by an adult mind, and held fast until the little one, having traveled over them several times, knew them and thus gained power to play with the images that arose while she guided the pencil. I have several of her pictures in which the same faces, flowers and insects appear, showing that she had mastered this sort of expression and reduced it to a kind of conventional language.

Thus the picture is not so spontaneous as it seemed. It owes something to kindergarten experience; possibly something to more direct suggestion; certainly something to the adult who wrote down the words and helped to hold them fast; and certainly much to experience in handling these particular forms.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. VII.

Conventional Stories.

"The Difference.

"It's no use, I don't know one thing about division," grumbled little Harry, rubbing out the work on his slate. "Well, I can't help it," said his sister Maude. "I've got enough to do, with these awful fractions. So I can't stop to help you." "I have plenty of time, for I've got my lessons," said Murill, the country cousin. "You. Why I don't believe you know how many three times seven is. You'd help me a great deal, when you havn't had subtraction yet." And Harry turned up his nose as high as such a pug nose could be turned. Muriel laughed. "I've had division long ago. But people don't seem to know where to put others here." "Don't you help Harry one bit," said Maude, crossly. "He's just as ungrateful." "I don't care," retorted Muriel, "I'd rather help him than not." Two months after this, Maude who was "mad," gave Muriel a blow on the temple with a large thick stick. The child fell backward. A week aferward, when in her own home, Muriel asked her mother if Maude might come to see her. She came. When she got there she was taken to the room instantly. Muriel was very very ill. She whispered something to Maude. As soon as she had finished she fell back on her bed. After her death Maud grew better and kinder till her mother said that if Muriel was alive nobody could tell "The Difference."

By a girl nine years old.

"A lost Child.

"Poor little Jane thought she knew just where her fathers shop was, her mother wanted the medcn so much she started of. She had been wandring about all day now, she had kept up her croug till now she could not be brave any more, She was down at the Narow Gage Stachen and now Jane burst out crying and all the people looked at her a pleosom came up to Jane and said, "What are you crying for my little girl." "Oh mother wanted the medcen

so much, and I came down to ask father to get it and I lost my way, I have been saving my money up for a long long time and I had seventy-five cents and it would just by the medcen and pay the docker. I brought ten cents with me but I lost it when the neaus-paper boy nocked me down," and Jane stoped out of breath. "O is your fathers nam J. Black and dose he keep a Shoe Store? "Yes he dose. I am so tieard."

Well hear is fifty cents and ten cents for your self. I will carry you home agan and hear is a drugst and I will get you the medcen And they walk into a drugst and he sets Jane on a stool and bought a lot of things spunge an pearfuarmy and lots of other things.

"What is the medcin called my dear

"Oh its is called chlordy the docker sead so

And as the news-boy comes in she jumps off the stool and runs to the pleadman. After he had baught all the things he picks her up and carrys her home Her mother gets well after awile and every things ends happly."

Girl, nine years old.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

Both of these stories were written spontaneously for the mere pleasure of writing. The first is by a quiet bookish girl of nine, and the second by a romping out-of-door girl of the same age. Each writes, spells and punctuates as she walks,—hence the first is a prize school girl, and the second has yet to learn how to wear the clothes of civilized composition. Under these conditions the second is, of course, much the more girlish and interesting.

At the same time, the two stories are very much alike in spirit and in composition. Neither of the authors locates her story in space or time. The scenes may have occurred in San Francisco or in London at any time during the past century. The characters and incidents are universal types in children's stories.

In the second place, there are no word pictures. Jane and Maud may be blondes or brunettes; and the Narow Gage Stachen fits any depot in Kansas or New Jersey. There is no need for

personal or place details, nor is there time to give them; the goal of the story is in sight from the start, and the writer rushes straight along the line of action to the predetermined end. This emphasis on action is also seen in the conversations—they are always in direct discourse. Quotation marks are the most needed punctuation marks in children's stories. It has long been known that the adult reader with a nine-year-old mind will buy a book or magazine more readily if the pages are set up so as to look like sprightly dialogue.

In each story there is a hero and a villain. In the first, these are both girls, Tom being a mere foil; in the second the newsboy villain is only faintly suggested. These leading characters are of the regulation sort; they are thoroughly good and thoroughly bad—because they are built that way; they are always true to the cast. Children classify people in one of two groups, and tend to keep them there.

In both stories the prevailing emotion is the one that flourishes under the shadow of sickness. It is easier to describe a death-bed scene than a happy party and it is more important. Tenement dwellers who have neither time nor money for a christening spend both lavishly on funerals. Nine-year-old minds demand the Death of Little Nell.

But at the end of both stories the writers tidy up the scene; they turn on the sunshine and let the remnant live happily ever after. The characters who survive go to the heaven of nine-year-olds, and in the second story the heaven is won by the blood of the martyrs.

The influence of the older kind of children's stories is clearly seen in these productions. It is the fashion to-day to consider the literary structure of the older Sunday-school books unsatisfactory and unfitted for its purpose. This is only partly true; the general lines of the plot and treatment were developed in response to children's demands. To modify Lincoln's statement: You cannot fool all the children all the time; and when you find anything which has been accepted by large numbers of children through long periods of time you will find something that expresses some of the fundamental qualities of childhood.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. VII.

Applications.

In this study we find that children's ideals gather first around the local characters whom they know, and then gradually extend out to contemporary public characters or to characters drawn from history and romance. This is no new discovery; Prof. William James has traced the growth of personality through these stages in one of his most brilliant chapters. The value of our study lies in the fact that it rediscovers this law working in a group of school children and gives us a means of tracing the rapidity of the growth under our educational conditions.

If this growth is too rapid, it is clear that the character will be fragmentary and disorganized. Devotion must climb steadily up through mothers, brothers and sisters, youthful leaders, nurses, teachers and local politicians if it is to be a sound patriotism gathering around the president, the monarch or the country. On the other hand, if the ideals are not led steadily outward we have arrested development, and a provincial mind valueless for the uses of a larger civilization.

In England the growth from local to world ideals is much less rapid than with us. Which is nearer right? This question brings us face to face with one of the greatest difficulties in using our present knowledge of the laws of growth in childhood. We can make a crude diagnosis of results under existing conditions but we have no normal standards with which to compare our results after we have reached them. We are in the condition that the medical profession would be in if it had discovered the thermometer but did not know the normal temperature of the body. A physician would be able to find that his patient had a temperature of 105 degrees, but he would not know what ought to be done, because he would lack a normal standard. To establish that standard he would not take the average of 1,000 persons, sick and well, but he would select a group of persons, whom competent physicians considered normal, and take their average as his normal

point. We have the greatest need of such standards in our work with children. If competent educational men could select groups of children who represent the best results of civilization and could determine their average growth along certain lines this would serve as at least a temporary normal average against which other groups could be judged.

Until we have such working standards these studies cannot determine whether in a group examined the local character ideals are neglected or over emphasized. And yet such a diagnosis as this which we have made has a distinct value even now. It shows that young children need local ideals outside the family and school group; and we can improve on our present methods of furnishing these ideals. Every community has its heroes and heroines; and they should be discovered and brought into the service of the family and the school. Their stories should be gathered and told to the children; our school houses should be named for them; their pictures and tablets should be hung on our walls. These heroes, men and women who have opened up the country, fought our wars, established our institutions, our industries, written our literature, or sacrificed themselves in noble endeavor would serve as the nuclei for later study in history and literature. They would bridge over the chasm which lies between the home and our long lists of presidents and generals.

The study shows, too, that different characters are needed in different periods of growth. This recognition must make us consider when it is best to use a man or woman who is valuable for our purpose. Just as in literature or science, so here, we may use the same materials over and over again, working them more intensively with each advancing grade of intelligence; or, we may arrange our material in series so that with each new advance we may have fresh specimens. I believe the last is the more effective method. Instead of using adapted editions of Shakespeare through all the grades I believe it is better to save Shakespeare, so far as any direct study is concerned, until children need him. If this principle is accepted, then we must determine at what ages George Washington and Abraham Lincoln can be most effectively used with our children. If the other principle is held, then we must determine what parts of their lives can be best used in the successive grades.

Our study shows that out of 1,900 of our children, 1,876 choose Americans as their ideals. This promises well for American patriotism; but our American life goes back only a little way—a short hundred years or two. Are not David and Alfred, Luther and Shakespeare my ancestors? Are they not American in all save geography? Do we not need them as personal forces in our national life? Our study does not answer these questions but it asks them; and a question that is well asked is half answered.

The fact that 26 per cent. of the seven-year-old girls choose a man as their ideal and that this percentage grows steadily until it reaches 45 per cent. with the older girls is one of the most startling facts brought out in this study. With a group of Boston girls, two years ago, we found 48 per cent. choosing male ideals at eight, and the percentage increased to 68 per cent. at fifteen. When we remember that in our urban communities, where these papers were written, more than 90 per cent. of our teachers are women the results are even more startling. The girls of America, taught almost entirely by women, are nearly half of them struggling toward ideals embodied in the lives of men. As an indication of "divine unrest" this result must be gratifying; but most thoughtful men and women believe that, in America at least, women have been as valuable as men. Most of us, too, believe that women have distinctive qualities very valuable to the race. Surely these ought not to be lost.

But if one looks into our schools he finds a condition that explains these returns and that calls for modification. Many of our American ideals are drawn from American history. If one picks up a text-book on American history he finds that out of four hundred pages not more than one page is devoted to the work of women. In a collection of some forty biographies recently prepared for school work only one deals with a woman. In all the material of the curriculum this general proportion is maintained. Hardly a woman in public life is mentioned by all the girls examined except Miss Helen Gould and Clara Barton. Is it not time to change this condition?

Down almost to our time American history was mainly written by New England men, and it was largely the history of New England, just as histories of civilization by Frenchmen are histories of France. At the present time American history is

coming to recognize that the New England States are but a corner of the country, and that the Mississippi valley not only contains the centre of population but that it has also had its fair proportion of legends, heroes and events. Is it not time that American histories intended for mixed schools should recognize the fact that the women came here with the men and that they have played important and heroic parts? These seem to me the most important conclusions to be drawn from this study.

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEOLOGY.

In our work on the religious development of childhood and youth during the past ten years we have not sufficiently recognized the complexity of the phenomenon with which we were dealing. Such a lack of definition is necessary at the beginning of a new study, but it must always lead to a confusion of thought. Not much further progress can be made in settling the steps in religious growth at adolescence, until we determine what parts of adolescent phenomena are to be considered as religious. So in the discussion of religious education, we confuse our counsel through not recognizing that teaching a child a philosophy of life, or a code of ethics, is a different thing from developing his feelings of adoration and worship.

This article deals neither with ethics nor with worship, but with theology. Nearly all religions include a theology, that is to say, a philosophy which explains the ultimate problems of life, the origin of things, and the relation of man to the higher powers of the universe. In the second place, religions appeal to and are connected with certain emotional activities; they appeal to admiration, and they call for worship. In the third place, most religions set forth a code of morals and seek to influence the conduct of their devotees. This threefold division appears in our characterization of religion as dealing with the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. In any particular religion, an ethical code provides the good, theology seeks to set forth the true, while ritual, ceremonial, and all that appeals to admiration and worship presents the beautiful. How does a child tend to approach the problems of theology, and how can he be most effectively trained to accept any theology we may desire to teach him? This is our problem; and we shall confine our inquiry to the period of childhood under fourteen years of age.

In early societies all education that rises above mere imitation of elders gathers around morals, manners and theology as its culture material. The priest who guards and imparts this knowledge may acquire or develop other knowledge concerning astronomy, mathematics or history, but it is always subordi-

nated to theology. From the fourth century to the sixteenth of our era theology was almost the only matter taught in the schools. Luther and his fellow-reformers favored public education in order that the people might have theology opened to them through learning to read. In England and America alike, our common schools owe their origin primarily to this same desire that the rising generation might have easy access to theology. It is one of the ironies of history that the schools, created by priests and ministers that the people might gain from catechism or Bible some particular variety of theology, have turned on their founders, driven them from their doors and refused all hearing to the theologies that created them.

In America our schools are being steadily secularized. In 1896 the Chicago Woman's Educational Union prepared a statistical report on Bible reading in the schools of the United States.[1] Of the superintendents who reported, 454 said the Bible was read in all their schools; 295 said it was read in some schools and 197 said in none. If we look at the distribution of those who have no Bible reading we find in the Atlantic States 23; South Central 9; North Central 96; Western 69. This shows that it is in those states where opinion is most flexible and progressive that the Bible is most rigorously excluded. Even when it is read, it is generally a formal exercise, and nowhere in our state schools is dogmatic teaching allowed.

In France the soldiers and police are to-day driving the religious teachers from the schools they have built and supported; while in England most needed legislation is blocked because the people are determined to curtail the power of the Church in the schools. Everywhere, the tendency is towards secularizing state education.

Nowhere else has the reaction against theology, and the Church which represents it, gone so far as in the school. We still claim to be a Christian people; we send our armies and navies to fight accompanied by chaplains who represent the Christian beliefs; sessions of our highest legislative assembly are opened with prayer offered by an official chaplain; we print "In God we trust" on our silver dollars; in our courts a man swears to tell

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[1] Report of United States Commissioner of Education for 1897–98, pp. 1539–1565.

the truth with his hand resting on the Bible. Everywhere we affirm the existence of God and our belief in Christian dogma, except in the school room.

Nor have we forbidden theology a place in our schools because we have ourselves ceased to reverence and accept it. On the contrary, it is doubtless true that nineteen-twentieths of the parents of America and England want their children taught theology. The difficulty is that we each want all children taught our theology. It is the warring sects that have driven religious instruction out of our schools, and not a force opposed to the Church. And yet the jealousies that have secularized the schools are so deep-seated and powerful that the movement towards secularization must inevitably go on for many years to come.

Meantime, it is idle to say that we have relegated the teaching of theology to the Sunday-schools. We do not relegate instruction in literature to the public libraries; nor a knowledge of business to the market place, nor a knowledge of music to the singing schools.

Only a fraction of our children attend the Sunday-schools, and those who do are very badly taught. It is true that there are some marked exceptions, but on the whole it would be fair to say that the teaching in Sunday-schools is on the plane of the teaching done in secular schools seventy-five years ago. The children meet in one large room, in the midst of endless confusion and distraction; for a parallel we should have to go to one of the old monitorial schools in England, or to the Mohammedan university in Cairo. The little ones wear their unaccustomed finery, their new hats and sashes, gloves and parasols; imagine teaching arithmetic to children so arrayed! At least nine-tenths, generally all, of the teachers are absolutely untrained; they are almost universally good and kind and respectable, but they have never considered carefully the way in which a child's mind works and they are as unfitted for teaching as were the people who kept the dame schools of half a century ago. When we come to curriculum and method the case is even worse; there is little or no grading; at most, in nine Sunday-schools out of ten, we have the primary class, the Sunday-school proper, and the Bible class for adults. Imagine a day school where all the children were taught the same thing over and over for ten years. Nor is it true that the subject-matter

warrants the difference; the story of Joseph will appeal to an infant; predestination will trouble the wisest adult. But even if the Sunday-school were doing its work well, we should still have a great many children who attend day schools but who never go into a Sunday-school; and any examination of children's ideas shows a large number grossly ignorant of the most common conceptions of the Christian theology. In an earlier study I frequently found children referring to God as Christ's son, while the relations of the Trinity were extremely obscure.[1]

From a purely secular point of view we should not need to trouble ourselves about this condition were it not that a knowledge of theology is necessary for purely secular purposes. In the first place, if we take out natural science, mathematics and the Greek and Latin classics, all the rest of our curriculum is most intimately bound up with the Christian theology. To teach our literature and history without a knowledge of Christian theology would be like teaching the Greek and Latin classics without a knowledge of pagan mythology. So necessary is a knowledge of mythology supposed to be that we bring into our schools specially prepared text-books on the subject. Even in our elementary schools, we have an abundant literature on myths and mythology. We have, in fact, reversed the movement of the early Christian centuries; then they banished the pagan theology and taught the Christian; our religious sects have banished the Christian theology and are teaching the pagan.

But Christian theology is ten-fold more important to us than the pagan, from a purely secular point of view. How can a child read Whittier, or how can he understand the period of Henry VIII. if he is ignorant of theology? How can we teach a child anything of the great painters if he lacks the knowledge which alone can give significance to their creations? No one can ever realize how important this is until he tries to teach our literature, art and history to Japanese or Chinese students. Of course, they lack other keys; but theology is one of the most important.

In the second place, as we have said, we are nominally a Christian people and to live intelligently among us and participate in public ceremonials, a knowledge of Christian theology is indispensable.

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[1] *Children's Theological Ideas.* In Pedagogical Seminary, Dec., 1893. Vol. 2, pp. 442–448.

In the third place, I believe a child has a native need for a theology, and that if he is not given one he will create it. He early comes to the point where he seeks ultimate origins and ends. "I do not know if Mother Nature made me;" said the little blind, deaf and dumb Helen Keller, "I think my mother got me from Heaven, but I do not know where that place is. I know that daisies and pansies come from seeds which have been put in the ground; but children do not grow out of the ground, I am sure. I have never seen a plant child! But I cannot imagine who made Mother Nature, can you?"[1] The following are among the questions asked by one of my little friends when she was between four and five years old: "How did the moon come in the sky? Why do we die? Why are things made to be killed? Who made the first fish egg, and how was it made? Where did I come from? Who was the mother of the first baby there ever was? When the first mother was a baby who was her mother? How did the first lady in the world learn manners?" These are but typical of the questions asked by any child, and a theology serves to merge them all in the larger theological and philosophical problems of adult life. The deeper demand which drove the little George Sand[2] to develop an elaborate theology and ritual, and which drove Goethe, at seven, to erect an altar and enact the part of high priest,[3] must surely come to imaginative children who find themselves so constantly hemmed in by the phenomenal.

If we are to teach a child a theology, it becomes a question of first importance for us to know how he tends to approach theological conceptions. In the careful study that has been given to the problems of adolescent religious experience during the past few years by Starbuck,[4] Leuba[5] and Daniels,[6] the period of childhood has been largely ignored and such material as has been used has been gathered from reminiscent papers.

During the past five years I have worked over many hundreds of papers written by children in English schools on various topics

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1 *Bishop Brooks and Helen Keller.* By Miss Sullivan. In Boston Evening Transcript, Jan. 6, 1892.

2 *A Girl's Religion.* By James Sully. In Eclectic Magazine. Vol. 51, pp. 765-770.

3 *Life of Goethe.* By G. H. Lewes. Vol. I, p. 28.

4 *The Psychology of Religion.* By Edwin Diller Starbuck. In Contemporary Science Series. London: 1899.

5 *A Study in the Psychology of Religious Phenomena.* By James H. Leuba. In American Journal of Psychology, April, 1896. Vol. 7, pp. 309-385.

6 *The New Life: a Study of Regeneration.* By Arthur H. Daniels. In American Journal of Psychology, Oct., 1893. Vol. 6, pp. 61-106.

connected with their theological beliefs; and in 1892-93 I worked over 1,091 compositions written by children in California, on the subject of heaven and hell. Papers were written by Catholics, Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Universalists, Christian Scientists, Mormons, Baptists, Adventists, Jews and Spiritualists, and it is on these English and American papers that this study is based.[1] It can add to the results massed by Dr. Hall,[2] Professor Dawson[3] and Dr. Ellis[4] only in details; but it may hope to give fresh emphasis to one aspect of the subject.

The most fundamental conceptions of the Christian theology gather around the Deity, the lesser spiritual powers, the future state of being, and the various relations of man to the higher powers. Let us examine these from the point of view of children.

Of the three members of the Trinity, God receives far the most attention from children under twelve years old. When they refer to him they speak as of a great and good man. "I think God looks like a human being but looks more kind and good and shines like the sun." "God looks like any other man but he is greater and wiser and smarter." "There is a beautiful throne on which God is sitting with a crown on his head, a scepter in one hand and in the other a globe. Rays of light are going out from him in all directions and light the whole place." The little four-year-old girl already quoted asked: "What does God eat? Is it chopped grass? Doesn't God have any dinner? Did Robinson Crusoe live before God? Who was before God? Is rain God's tears that run out of the sky? How did God put the moon in the sky?"

This agrees perfectly with the study made by Dr. G. Stanley Hall, in which he found the little Boston children saying that: "God is a big, perhaps blue man, very often seen in the sky on or in the clouds, in the church, or even in the street. He came in our gate, comes to see us sometimes. He lives in a big palace or a big brick or stone house on the sky. He makes lamps, babies, dogs, trees,

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[1] I shall draw freely on my *Theological Life of a California Child*. In the Pedagogical Seminary, Dec., 1893. Vol. 2, pp. 442-448.

[2] *Some Fundamental Principles of Sunday School and Bible Teaching*. By Dr. G. Stanley Hall. In Pedagogical Seminary, Dec., 1901. Vol. 8, pp. 439-469.

[3] *Children's Interest in the Bible*. By George E. Dawson. In Pedagogical Seminary, July, 1900. Vol. 7, pp. 151-178.

[4] *Sunday School Work and Bible Study in the Light of Modern Pedagogy*. By A. Caswell Ellis. Pedagogical Seminary, June, 1896. Vol. 3, pp. 363-412.

See also: *The Point of Contact in Teaching*. By Patterson Du Bois. Philadelphia, 1897.

money, etc., and the angels work for him. He looks like the priest, Frobel, papa, etc., and they like to look at him, and a few would like to be God. He lights the stars so he can see to go on the sidewalk or into the church. Birds, children, Santa Claus live with him, and most but not all like him better than they do the latter."[1]

Nearly all religions have attributed to their deities the qualities of omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence. God can do all things; he knows all things; and he is everywhere.

In the papers examined, omnipotence is mentioned by many children, but few concrete instances are given. God's activities are seldom described; less than 5 per cent. of the children speak of Him as making things grow, caring for our material needs, or ruling the universe.

This does not mean that children doubt God's power. As their prayers show, they have implicit faith that he can do whatever he will. "Oh dear God," prays the little boy who wants a certain future Sunday to come quickly, "please don't let any more Sundays come between now and Children's Day."[2] The management of the practical things of the world is generally left to the angels.

Our studies on children's ideals[3] throw some light upon their attitude toward God's activities. We found that out of 5,352 children in England, 7 per cent. of the boys and 14 per cent. of the girls wished to be like God or Christ; in Mrs. Darrah Dyke's[4] study on California children, 5 per cent. chose the Deity; and in a study just completed on children in the Eastern States, 4 per cent. made the same choice.[5] In working over the English papers, Miss Cash found that "out of 698 statements, 64 per cent. refer to the qualities of God or Christ and 49 per cent. to their activities. This is also true of the Bible characters chosen; out of 217 state-

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[1] *The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School.* By Dr. G. Stanley Hall. In Pedagogical Seminary, June, 1891. Vol 1, pp. 139–173.
See also: *The Development of the Child.* Chapter on *The Place of Religion.* By Nathan Oppenheim. New York, 1898.
Also; *Religious Ideas of a Child.* By Oscar Chrisman. In Child Study Monthly. March, 1898. Vol. 3, pp. 516–528.

[2] *Religious and Other Ideas.* By C. S. Martindell. In Child Study Monthly. May, 1898. Vol. 4, p. 19.

[3] *Children's Ideals.* By Earl Barnes. In Pedagogical Seminary. April, 1900. Vol. 7, p .3.

[4] *Children's Ideals.* By Estelle Darrah. In Popular Science Monthly, May, 1898. Vol. 53, p. 92.

[5] *Studies in Education.* Vol. 2, pp. 199–200.

ments, 73 per cent. have reference to the qualities of the characters and 26 per cent. to their activities.

"Arranged by years these percentages run:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Activities . . .	40%	32%	29%	45%	46%	58%
Attributes . .	65%	82%	86%	75%	75%	48%

"I should have thought children at an early age would show more interest than they do in the activities of Deity. Perhaps the moral qualities of God and Christ and Bible characters are more impressed on children in Scripture lessons than their activities.

"The qualities most frequently selected by the children are good and kind. Meek and gentle are the two next in importance, and these are ascribed to Christ. The table on 'Good and Kind' and 'Other Activities' shows the tendency with advancing years to drop the undifferentiated terms in favor of more differentiated ones.

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Good and kind . .	45%	65%	58%	52%	47%	30%
Other qualities . .	62%	46%	68%	70%	74%	75%

"The fact that so little place is given to the power and greatness of God or of Christ by these children seems to show that the kind of teaching that they receive is more rational than it used to be. The fearfulness and awfulness and almightiness of God which, I think, would not long ago have played a more conspicuous part in these papers, seem to be forgotten in a recognition of his goodness and kindness.

"The same thing is noticeable in connection with the activities that are mentioned. Those that rank highest are the death of Christ, usually described as being 'for us'—the healing of the sick and helping those in trouble. The working of miracles comes below these and the creation of the world or the power to 'do wonderful things' still lower. It seems from this that the children's admiration is centred on the goodness of God to men as expressed by the above activities. God, as judge, is never mentioned and no mention is made of his power to punish, except in a negative way by one girl, who states that idols are no good because they cannot punish."

Two of the most striking papers illustrating the interest in omnipotence are the following:

"I should like to be God. Because of the miracals he can do. Because he can see into the future. Because he has the power and opportunity to do everything. Because he is the greates spirit on earth and heaven. Because he has the power to make water into wine and blood. Because he can cure the leapper, and cure blind men. Because he can raise people from the dead. Because he gave power to Moses to strike a rock and water should come out. Because he can send plagues. Because he can make dumb people speak. And to make a river part and to let the Israelites pass over the river Gordon and to drowned the Phillistine army. Because he can make the deaf hear."

"I should very much like to be God. The reason why, is because he his so mighty and powerfull. He is more than the Queen because he rules over the world. He also can do great and powerful things such as sending the thunder and lightning and doing miracles such as healing the sick and other great miracles of that sort. If we was only like him we should be able to do miracles and things of his profession. But it would not do for all of us to be Gods because the land would soon be in a riot."

Omniscience is one of the easiest attributes of the Deity for children to grasp. Thought is so intangible and subtle and man's thought is free to wander so freely over the universe that it is comparatively easy to think of one who knows all things. "God can see everything you do, and hear everything you say even if you are inside a house," say the children. Many of the children feel that God is watching them; and some say: "He writes it all down." Not infrequently a child resents this invisible supervision. A friend tells me of a little girl who said she "would not be so tagged;" and of a boy of three who was so displeased at the thought of this constant presence that he said he "would shoot God."

Omnipresence is much more difficult for the children to comprehend. To think of a personality so centred that it can think and feel and act in terms of human existence and that is still present in every part of the universe at the same time presents a problem before which the imagination is helpless. A few days ago a little boy came home from India and seeing snow for the

first time asked where it came from. His mother told him that God sent it. "What," he asked, "my God from India?" The way in which local saints in the Catholic church take upon themselves different attributes according to the place where they are revered illustrates the great difficulty that undeveloped mind has in grasping the omnipresence of a spirit. In the California papers, as in Oriental religions, an attempt is made to realize both omnipresence and omniscience by multiplying the bodily parts of Deity. He is a "man that has six hands and feet and eyes;" or, "he is a huge being with numerous legs spread out all over the sky." The influence of the fairy methods of overcoming space and time is shown by the girl of eleven who says: "God can even go through a key hole or make himself as small as a pin." "Has God sharp ears?" asks a little girl. "Is there two Gods, one to look after Granny in the country and one to look after us in Highbury? Does he look after the people next door as well?"

A child's personal relation to God, as expresseed in prayer, may be that of frank acceptance of Him as an unseen friend, much like a distant uncle; or the prayer may very easily become an end in itself, when the whole ceremony sinks into fetishism. Examples of the first attitude are constantly seen in the spontaneous prayers of childhood. "O Lord," prays Mary, who has quarreled with her little brother, "bless Eddie; he needs it." A little boy of four, the son of a country clergyman, had lost his football. On going to bed that night his mother overheard him saying at the end of his prayers: "And please, dear God, find my football, and when you have found it please give it a good kick and send it out in the middle of the lawn so that I see it first thing in the morning." His mother turned the servants out to hunt for it; it was found and put on the lawn. On waking he jumped out of bed, ran to the window and said: "Thank you, dear God, I knew you would find it."

The second attitude, where the prayer becomes an end in itself, is illustrated by a woman who says: "I had an idea before I was eight, that prayer had no efficacy at night if one spoke afterwards; and as I did invariably speak, my prayers were repeated three or four times, sometimes more." Another friend recalls that from the reproof her mother gave her, after her younger brothers and sisters had reported her for kneeling on the bed instead of on

the floor when it was very cold, she came to have an idea that the discomfort added some way to the efficacy of prayer. "I only said prayers at night," she continued, "while some of my friends said theirs in the morning as well. I remember giving them a higher place for goodness on that account." This tendency towards exalting or personifying an act or a thing is always at work with children. It appears in the most attenuated forms, as in the case of the boy who in copying a hymn spelled "hear" "heair." When his attention was called to it he remarked: "Well, you see it makes it longer and more reverent."

Christ appears much more as an historical character than as a living presence in these compositions. Is it possible that in over-emphasizing abstruse problems of doctrine we have weakened the power of Christ to appeal to simple human hearts?

The devil plays an insignificant part in all these compositions. He is the evil influence, the bad spirit; and many of the younger children know nothing of him. When they do describe him, he is the conventional devil of the books. "He shines like fire. He has snakes in his hair and horns all over his body. And a red hot iron spear and a spear like pointed tail." These concrete details are, however, very rare.

Much of a child's theological curiosity and belief centres around the hereafter. To nearly all the young children heaven is a definite place situated up, or in the sky, where God and the angels live. "I think heaven is away up in the air," says a boy of ten, "and that it has a golden fence and a man named peter is always standing on a gold rock near a gate all covered with gold and diamonds with a house insid the fence the house is of pure gold and silver with pearls and diamonds on it insid a man sits with a gold hat on his head with gold clothes with diamonds on them and he is barefooted and has long hair and has holes in his hands and feet and his name is Jesus and his fathers name is God and there are gods with wings on and they are called angels."

Many papers describe the people as praying, praising God and walking about, and one paper puts it: "They appeared to be gathered in groups conversing much as people do after church service is over, when there is another to follow." To many, heaven is an extended church service. To the little children, and to some older ones, heaven is a place where you do nothing, have

everything you want to eat, and to play with, and are always perfectly happy. It is a park where one goes to hold a picnic. It is a reservoir of good things. One cannot help wondering whether these two types of heaven are not drawn from the Sundays the children have known. The one somewhat severe and restrained, filled with a church spirit, and the other a free day in the open country side.

The activities of the redeemed furnish one of the most difficult details in the child's theology. Often some relative who has died is supposed to be in heaven, and the difficulty of passing in imagination from the earth life to the spirit world is a very real one. The children in an English Infant School were one day asked what they wanted to do when they got to heaven. Fifteen could think of nothing but "sing;" others were going to "be good," "stand by God," "fly about," "be glad," "read the Bible," "wipe away all tears," "play the music," "love the angels," etc., etc. As they grow older, children often mention the monotony of the life. Thus a boy of fourteen, after describing heaven as a place of singing and praise, concludes: "I suppose they will get tired of living this way all the time anyway I would if I ever went there. I should like to visit heaven for a short time."

By the time the children are ten to twelve years old heaven becomes spiritualized, and the children say: "I think heaven is in people's hearts and not a place where God dwells with all his angels;" or, "Most people have come to the conclusion that it is a spiritual place."

In the English papers one is struck with the emphasis laid upon equality in heaven. It is sometimes said that aristocracies have always used religious beliefs to strengthen their own temporal power, encouraging the masses to believe that in the future life they would gain all the things they envied their superiors here. In any case, the statements of the English children are striking. They say: "We are told that all persons are treated alike;" "there are no favourites in heaven;" "everybody there tries to be the lowest instead of the highest;" "people will not be rich and others poor." I have never found such a statement in American children's papers.

Martin Luther understood children remarkably well. "They think of heaven," he says in his Table-Talks, "as a place where

there will be eating and dancing, and rivers running with milk." His letter to his little son, Hans, seems to me a model bit of theological teaching for a young child:

"Grace and peace in Christ, my dear little boy. I am pleased to see that thou learnest thy lessons well, and prayest well. Go on thus, my dear boy, and when I come home I will bring you a fine fairing. I know of a pretty garden, where are merry children that have gold frocks, and gather nice apples and plums and cherries under the trees, and sing and dance, and ride on pretty horses with gold bridles and silver saddles. I asked the man of the place whose the garden was, and who the children were. He said: 'These are the children who pray and learn and are good.' Then I answered, 'I also have a son who is called Hans Luther. May he come to this garden and eat pears and apples and ride a little horse and play with the others?' The man said: 'If he says his prayers and learns, and is good, he may come; and Lippus and Jost may come, and they shall have pipes and drums and lutes and fiddles, and they shall dance and shoot with little cross-bows.' Then he showed me a smooth lawn in the garden laid out for dancing and there the pipes and drums and cross-bows hung. But it was still early and the children had not dined; and I could not wait for the dance. So I said, 'Dear sir, I will go straight home and write all this to my little boy; but he has an Aunt Lena, that he must bring with him.' And the man answered, 'So it shall be; go and write as you say.' Therefore, dear little boy, learn and pray with a good heart, and tell Lippus and Jost to do the same, and then you will all come to the garden together. Almighty God guard you. Your loving father, Martin Luther."

Some two years ago fifty boys and girls in a suburban London Board School were asked to write a composition exercise on the subject, "Hell." They were from a fairly well-to-do community, and were all thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years old. I am aware that most people would think this a very unfit subject for children to write upon, and I should feel that it could be justified only now and then for purposes of diagnosis. At the same time, these children were all taught Christian theology in school for at least thirty minutes each day; and the problem as to the future state of the wicked could not have been always avoided. With the Bible, Milton, Dante, Bunyan, Michael Angelo and the ordinary refer-

ences in reading books and general literature no conspiracy of silence can prevent an ordinary child from hearing of hell, and its intelligent treatment in a composition exercise could do no real harm, at least in a system of schools which is not yet secularized. In any case, a very intelligent teacher set the subject and the children treated it seriously.

Not a child who wrote took an atheistic view of the subject, but all accepted the existence of hell in some form or other. The most striking characteristic of these papers, after the element of doubt, to which we shall refer later, is the way in which they spiritualize the conception of hell and ignore its horrors. They are just at the age when material conditions pass over into phrases and feelings.

Very few speak of it, even conditionally, as a real place of fire and suffering; even these are vague phrases of misery and unhappiness. They say it is unpleasant, nasty, horrible,—a dreadful place. Ninety per cent. of the children say it is not a place but a state. "Those who have shunned God will live in a state of restlessness and unhappiness." "There is no fire there but our souls are full of remorse for the wickedness we have done." "People who will not repent live in misery because their conscience is constantly reproaching them." "Hell and Heaven might be the same place but a person in Heaven might feel happy and a person would be in Hell if he felt unhappy."

The results of this study agree exactly with the earlier study on California children and confirm our belief that hell is one of the most difficult conceptions with which the teacher of Christian theology has to deal. This is, of course, partly due to the fact that the mind of the Christian Church is so unsettled; and partly to the rise, during the last hundred years, of a new humane feeling which makes the older conception of hell difficult to harmonize with modern thought. But meantime the conception is embodied in all our art and literature and current belief, and if theology is to deal with ultimate effects in the moral world, some future for the wicked must be provided. It is not a part of theology which can be continually "put off" with an intelligent child.

Still another study throws some light on children's general attitude towards the Bible. In one of the London Board Schools where all the children have thirty minutes' religious instruction

daily, the head mistress asked her girls to write a composition in answer to the questions: What Scripture lesson do you like best? Where did you hear it? The Old and the New Testament had been pretty well covered in the school work, and most of the children were accustomed to going to Sunday-school and church service. The choices made by 176 girls were distributed as follows:

The Israelites	21
Moses and the Bulrushes	13
Saul and David	12
David	12
Joseph	7
Adam and Eve	6
Creation	5
Daniel	5
Samuel	5
David and Jonathan	4
Fiery Furnace	2
Ruth	1
Esther	1
Abraham	1
Elijah	1
Cain and Abel	1
Jacob and Esau	1
Noah	1
Handwriting on the Wall	1
Jesus' Parables	23
Jesus' Miracles	20
Birth of Christ	20
Crucifixion	12
Paul in Prison	1

These girls were from eight to fourteen years old, and they chose 100 stories from the Old Testament and 76 from the New Testament. Sixty per cent. of the girls report that they have heard their favorite story in the day school.

As one looks over the list, he cannot help being impressed anew with the wealth of biographical material available in the Old Testament; but the compositions make me doubt whether it has been well presented. Occasionally a girl writes vigorously and to the point, as: "I like the story about Sau and David which

I have heard at school. Some of the people chose Saw for there king. And some chose David. And one day Saw got up a few men to fight for him against David and the king went in a cave and David was in that very Cave and David cut off a piece of his garment and then went up on the hill and shouted. I like that lesson because it is very enteresting." Another says: "About Moses going to the mountain, to God. and droping the tables of stone, when he saw the Iserlites dancing round the golden calf."

These compositions are, however, not typical; and while the school is one of the best, this lot of compositions is decidedly inferior to those written on secular subjects. Such papers as the following are not uncommon:

"The lesson that I always remember is the story of the Grumbling Israelites Because it shows we are to be content with what God gives us" "About Mary and Mather and Jesus raising their brother Nasurass from the dead. Because My Sunday School teacher told all the girls in my class that she would give a prize to the girl who lisened the best all through the year and I lisened so hard that Sunday that I remembered."

"About when Jesus was sitting on a stone and he saw a lady coming to draw water and she did not speak very nice to him because she did not know who he was I like that because it shows that you ought to be good manered to everyone"

Is it not unfortunate that we still continue to use our great religious and secular characters, our masterpieces in art and literature, for all kinds of nursery and elementary school service. They ought to appear in nurseries and day schools, but they should be led in and honored as the noble guests they are. Instead, we treat them as pupil teachers and the children must inevitably come to think of them as such. We have rescued the Bible and Homer from doing service as first readers. When shall we rescue David from doing service as teacher of elementary morals? If we tell the truth about David he is not well fitted for the task; and if we do not tell the truth, we not only give the children wrong impressions, but, infinitely worse, we accustom them to convenient perversions of fact; and establish in their minds a toy David which will prevent their ever knowing the great singer of Israel.

Still further light is thrown on children's attitude toward

Bible characters by our study on children's ideals. Out of more than 5,000 English children who wrote, only 4 per cent., nearly all girls, chose Bible characters. Is it not surprising that in the state schools of a country where thirty minutes a day must be devoted to religious instruction, and where most of that instruction is Bible reading and Bible stories, the characters of the Old and New Testaments take such slight hold on the imagination of the children?

Miss Kate G. Cash, who worked through these papers, says: "David is chosen forty times and Samuel is second to David. Is this because stories of these two are most frequently told children, or because the childhood of both is described in the Bible? David's life would naturally appeal to children because it was so full of action and adventure,—but why are they especially interested in Samuel? Is it because of the story of God calling him? Six children out of twenty-three speak of this and one or two describe it fully. Has not this story a certain indefinable fascination about it?

"Joseph is only chosen twice. One child dwells on his generosity and forbearance, the other on his power and position. These two papers are interesting, for they show what a totally different value Joseph as an ideal would have in the lives of these two children.

"Jonathan is only once chosen as an ideal character. Very few women are chosen. They are the Virgin Mary, Miriam, Ruth and the woman who touched Christ's garment. Characters of the New Testament are seldom chosen. Probably this is because they are not so well understood by children as those of the Old. Or it may be that Christ, being *the* character of the New Testament, would overshadow all others.

"Positive and material possessions of the characters play a very unimportant part; they are chosen chiefly for what they are, and the same qualities, for the most part, are admired as those in the papers on God and Christ. Does this not seem to indicate that in treating the characters of the Old Testament solely from a religious point of view we have in a measure de-humanized them?"

On the whole the results in this study agree very closely with those reached in the last one made. In a similar study recently

made in the United States no children chose Bible characters, other than Deity, as their ideals.[1]

In Mr. Dawson's admirable study on *Children's Interest in the Bible*[2] he reaches conclusions essentially the same as those here presented. For the period covered by our studies, mainly from ten to fifteen years old, he finds the children preferring the Old Testament to the New and in the children's choice of Bible scenes and stories the parallelism is close.

A short time ago there came into my hands a very interesting set of papers written by a class of girls in a London Board School in response to the question: How would you try to explain to a Hindoo about the God whom the Christians worship? I cannot imagine a better exercise to fill a part of the period set aside for religious instruction than the writing of this little composition. The child is approached indirectly and finds himself required to determine what the essential things are in the religion he professes. Of course, if religious belief is to be built up by habitual exercises, as a merely reflex activity of the soul, then such an exercise as this ought not to be allowed; but if intelligence is to be made an ally, then it is admirable.

The children who wrote these papers have been steadily under religious instruction from infancy; and for the most part, they accept the method of training to which they have themselves been subject and apply it directly to the Hindoo. Says a girl of thirteen: "If I came into conversation with a Hindo about the Fact that our God is the only true God, I would first start with the creation of the World. I would question the man about, who made the world? who made man and beast? who made sun, moon, stars and clouds? and I should explain it all to him about the way the World, man and beast, sun, moon, and stars were made. I should then continue to go father into the question, how God made woman out of man, and who Adam, which was the man's name and Eve the woman's name, had two sons and continue farther into reading of the bible and explain every chapter to try and make it clear to his mind, who made everything. This would all be found in the first book of Moses called Genesis. I should

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[1] *Studies in Education.* Vol 2, pp 199–200.
[2] *Children's Interest in the Bible.* By George E. Dawson. In Pedagogical Seminary, July, 1900. Vol. 7, pp, 151–178.

then read Exodus how God sent to Faroe the 10 Plagues because he would not take any notice of Moses (who was God's messenger) when God told him to let the children of Israel go with him out of Bondage into the Promised land which God should prepare for them." She then goes on to describe the plagues of Egypt and the Miracles performed by Jesus.

Still another paper by a girl of fourteen: "I should explain first the uselessness of worshipping idols, how that these images made of gold, wood, brass, and stone really have no power, but that it is only a superstition existing from their forefathers, explaining who it was that made the world and all that therein is. Before telling them to be true followers of God, I should ask them to have a trial, and instead of praying to their Gods for rain for instance to pray to the Almighty and All powerful God, but it does not mean to say that God would send rain every time we asked for God's ways are not our ways, but that if they truely believed and trusted him he would be just in forgiving our wants, and they would see that if he thought best to do so he would. I should not talk long to tire a Hindoo first, but if I found him interested, I should take means of occasionally talking to him. I should tell them of the beginning of the world, how in the garden of Eden, how man's first disobedience was the beginning of sin, and that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son to die for our sins that we might believe and have everlasting life, and that if he believed and trusted it is as the propet saith Seeing him who is invisible, and if he was truely in earnest he should come to God's house and be baptized and be a true follower of God."

These papers seem to me to illustrate in a subtle way the native workings of children's minds as seen through their religious instruction. Our religion is good, they say, because it gives us a powerful and good ally. The papers do not dwell on the beauty of Christ's personal character, nor on the atonement; instead, they reach back to the older bases of supernatural demonstration and authority.

Until the children are eight years old we seldom find them using any qualifying clauses or expressions. They simply state as facts the things they have read and heard. From eight on, the children seek increasingly to place the responsibility for the state-

ments they make by saying, "I think" or "They say." These qualifications are rare, however, until the child gets to be ten years old; they increase steadily after that and culminate at twelve and thirteen. After that, qualifying expressions are less common, but the whole structure of the sentences make them unnecessary. The thought is lifted, at that time, from a material to a spiritual plane.

I went through the fifty papers on "Hell," and an equal number by similar children on "Heaven" and selected out all the qualifying expressions. The following table shows the number of times that these phrases were used by the hundred writers:

	Hell.	Heaven.
Heaven or Hell is supposed to be	25	16
People say, or they say	19	10
People think	13	6
The Bible says	11	10
I, or we, think	7	19
I, or we, imagine	7	5
I believe	3	4
No one knows	16	17
I do not know exactly	4	4
I do not think	8	9
I cannot picture or imagine	7	7
I cannot form an idea	4	2
If	2	3
Perhaps	1	3
Most likely	1	
It seems	1	
Total	129	115

It is startling to find fifty school children using 129 phrases of uncertainty in describing one of the most fundamental conceptions of theology and 115 in describing another. It is still more startling to find how uniform this attitude of mind was throughout the group; there was not a single paper that gave an unconditioned account of hell and only three that gave unconditioned accounts of heaven.

The following, from a boy of 12, is a striking illustration of the painfully careful acceptance that marks these compositions; the italics are my own: "*Most likely* Hell is a state of being in

anguish and sorrow. *The bible says* that it is 'a place of everlasting fire.' *Perhaps* this is right. *But no person can exactly describe it.*" "*Some say,*" writes another boy, "that it is a place deep down in the earth a place of everlasting fire, knashing of teeth and many other horrible things, but *this of course is only pure imagination.*"

Of heaven they say: "From what *I have heard* people say *I think* Heaven must be the place where God *is supposed* to dwell and where, when we die, our spirit goes." "Heaven is a *supposed* kingdom up above the clouds. *It is not known truly,* whether there is such a place *in reality. I do not think* it is *quite* like it is *supposed* to be. *I think* it is a spiritual place, and all that go there are spirits."

In referring to the origin of their knowledge of hell, five children quote the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; but even here doubt lingers and a boy of thirteen writes: "In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus *there is supposed to be* a gulf which seperates Heaven from Hell;" "In the book of Revelation," says a girl of thirteen, "St. John gives us a very beautiful description of heaven. But *we cannot be certain* that the picture he has so beautifully drawn for us is correct as after all it was *only a dream* of his." A third of the children refer in some way to the Bible, though often in the spirit of the boy who after describing hell says: "*Perhaps* the foundation of this is in the Bible in the passage which talks about hell fire." One child refers the idea of hell to "the old prophets;" two say "the Jews believed;" and one boy writes: "When mothers are telling their children to be good she often adds, that if they go on with wickedness, they will not go to Heaven when they die, but to Hell in the burning fire." Thus we see how deep-seated is the sense of uncertainty in the children's minds, and it is the more striking since every writer verbally accepts hell as a reality.

This is the difficult period in all theological education. The thoughtful teacher will be able to make the transition from anthropomorphism to more spiritual conceptions without any serious difficulty, if he is watchful. It was on this period that the Jesuit schools concentrated their finest efforts. But why, it is constantly asked, if we wish ultimately to reach spiritual conceptions do we not teach them at first? It is because the soul is a growing organ-

ism and must go through its successive stages to reach ultimate perfection as a human soul. We do not demand that the caterpillar shall pass from the egg at once to its final form; we are willing it should pass through its needed stages. We do not demand that a baby shall cut its adult teeth at first, but we patiently let it take its stages though we know that transitions are difficult and dangerous. It is only when we reach the higher matters of the subjective life that we insist on jumping from infancy to the adult plane. Transitions are difficult and dangerous, but jumps are far more dangerous.

From the general considerations and the evidence brought forward it seems to me pretty well established that a knowledge of theology meets a natural need of a child's mind; that it fits him to be an intelligent citizen in a nominally Christian land; and that it gives him the indispensable key to art, literature and history.

It seems also clear that the teaching of theology is neglected and must be increasingly neglected in the state schools. The Sunday-schools and home instruction must be depended upon to do the work; and neither is to-day very well in line with present pedagogic knowledge.

In teaching children under ten years old, we must recognize that they have a real desire and need for the knowledge which a theology gives; that they will accept almost anything they are told if it is presented with authority, but that they necessarily transform it into anthropomorphic forms.

From ten to twelve, comes a period of doubt when earlier anthropomorphic forms are translated into spiritual equivalents.

After twelve, there is less demand for intellectual clearness; and the religious life rests increasingly in emotional conditions and in unreasoning faith.

Most of our people in America and England accept some form of theological belief; there is a small group of so-called deists who reject all religious dogma; and there is a considerable group which is in a state of indecision and which calls itself agnostic. How should each of these groups solve the problem of theological instruction for its children?

The believer should, in the first place, clear up his own fundamental conceptions and beliefs. In this respect the members of

the Roman Catholic church have a great advantage over Protestant sects, for they know what they believe and therefore what they want to teach.

These accepted beliefs should be put in simple anthropomorphic forms, and should be backed by the authority of church, Bible, and parent.

A keen and sympathetic watch should be kept for the appearance of the doubts that mark transition. This is the crucial period; and ten to twelve is the most dangerous time. The older anthropomorphic ideas should now be exchanged for the spiritual equivalents held by the teacher and in place of the earlier authority an appeal should be made primarily to the feelings. In the first period theology is external, God is in his heaven and angels come and go between us. In the second period the kingdom of heaven is within us.

The deist teacher, knowing there is nothing to know, will still, if he be wise, give his children myths and fairy lore; he will use Mother Nature as the centre for casual questionings; and he will give the child a knowledge of Christian doctrine as of Roman mythology so that he may have the key to the life around him. Even then, the probabilities are, judging from experience, that his children's children will revert to some extreme form of theological acceptance.

But how about the considerable group of our people who find themselves on uncertain theological foundations, and who would generally describe themselves as agnostic? I should maintain that they should teach their children the fundamental ideas of the theology in the midst of which they are to live. Teach them as true? Yes, in the same way in which they would teach Mother Nature or the ordinary children's stories as true. At first, the stories would simply be told and no questions of evidence would be raised. When the questions were raised the parent would share with his child his own uncertainty.

The difficulties that an agnostic parent must meet in teaching his child the ordinary theological conceptions are two-fold:

He will fear that when the child comes to know that he has been taught something not fully believed by the parent he will lose confidence in the parent's sincerity. In the second place, he will fear that with advancing years the child may have to go

through the agony of mental readjustment which some adults have experienced. I do not believe that either of these dangers is very important. Under the conditions of an ordinary orthodox home there have been so many vested interests which prevented the child's making any readjustment in thought and feeling, demanded by advancing intelligence, that if the break were made it was with great pain. Under the conditions of a free and rational household, children pass through successive stages in their belief concerning the universal goodness of human beings, or the kindly thoughtfulness and care of Nature without ever knowing where they make the transition. Under home conditions which secure freedom of thought and where there are no vested interests of Church and society to uphold fixed beliefs, I believe transitions from anthropomorphic religious beliefs and practices will be made with equal ease.

The second difficulty lies in the fear that an agnostic parent teaching the child to pray would be playing a false part which must involve him in insincerity from which there would be no escape save through some sort of casuistry. Here again we are living in the presence of conditions that have over emphasized the virtue of declaring one's extreme beliefs. All truth is relative, and everyone of us instinctively adjusts the thing he says to the supposed capacity and understanding of the one to whom he says it. We tell the children of a Santa Claus who brings presents to good little boys and girls; and we tell them of a good Mother Nature who folds the plants up in the ground in the winter and keeps them safe, who lines the bud scales with wool to keep the tender buds warm, and who teaches the birds how to build their nests; we teach them animal life and relations on their kindly and anthropomorphic side and we never feel that we are false to ourselves in doing it. To a parent who believes that a child, in that period when everything is personal and concrete to him, naturally accepts an anthropomorphic and kindly deity, there can be no insincerity in recognizing this deity, even though the parent thinks he knows that the supernatural will gradually fade out of the child's conception.

That human soul is strongest which has lived the most earnest human life; and a child who is jumped over some of the essential

stages in his intellectual and spiritual growth will have lost something in the depth and strength of his humanity. This view presupposes that a child tends to body forth the unknown in superhuman forms. To one who believes that a child passes directly from his personal experience, and from his sense of human powers, to a recognition of abstract law working in an impersonal universe, this plea is, of course, nonsense.

STUDY ON CHILDREN'S SENSE OF TRUTH.

MISS K. G. CASH.

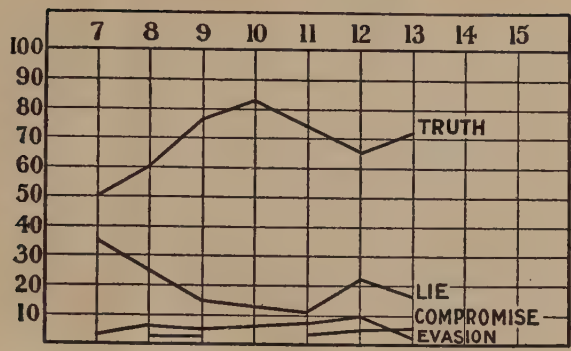
Test. Tom had a kind uncle who often gave him presents. One day this uncle sent him a picture, which Tom thought very ugly. When the uncle came to see him, he said, "Well, Tom, how did you like the picture I sent you?" What would you have answered if you had been Tom? Why?

The test given to the children, on which this study is based, was not altogether satisfactory. Many children did not understand that the "Why" at the end of the question referred to the reason for their reply, and not to the reason why they did not like the picture. This is partly the cause for the scarcity of reasons, especially at the early ages; but of course, difficulty of expression must also be taken into account. Since some children say they like the picture though it was ugly, it might be better to alter the test and say that Tom did not like the picture.

Papers were written by 937 children in London Board Schools; and the evidence was classified under four main headings: Truth, Lie, Evasion and Compromise. Tempered truth and evasion are doubtless compromises; but for the purposes of this study compromise will mean answers which are distinctly tactful, as well as truthful.

The following table and chart show the distribution of these factors; in the chart, answers from boys and girls are combined:

	Ages .	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs
Truth	Boys . . .	50%	87%	80%	75%	75%	69%	66%
	Girls . . .	47%	53%	75%	82%	75%	75%	80%
Lie	Boys . . .	40%	12%	10%	16%	15%	22%	23%
	Girls . . .	29%	38%	18%	12%	20%	23%	11%
Evasion	Boys . . .	4%	0%	8%	8%	9%	7%	8%
	Girls . . .	5%	0%	3%	3%	2%	6%	9%
Compromise	Boys . . .	0%	1%	1%	0%	6%	13%	3%
	Girls . . .	0%	0%	2%	0%	1%	2%	7%



The truth line rises steadily until the age of ten or eleven and then a fall occurs at twelve. This, I think, is because the children see openings other than direct truth-telling or lying. It is at this age that evasion and compromise spring up, and there is also a slight recrudescence of lying.

The children of seven years old are very direct; only 2 per cent. of those who speak the truth try to soften it. Usually they are very brief in their expression and so their answers are almost brutal in their sincerity, *e. g.* Girl of eight: "It was very ugly, I did not like it." Boy of eight: "Did not like it very much, I would dream about it." There is a marked growth in the tendency to soften the truthful answer as the children grow older. Thus a girl of eleven says: "I did not like it very much, but it may have been painted and drawn excellently, but I suppose you gave it to me with good intentions, and as a present, though I should not like to hurt your feelings." A girl of thirteen says: "I do not like it very much uncle, but I shall keep it because you gave it to me."

This modification of the truth and the evasion of it are partly due to increase of intellectual power, and partly to the development of altruistic feeling which makes the child desire to soften the reply so as not to hurt the uncle's feelings. Some of it may also be due to a sense of politeness or gentlemanly behavior, either born of altruistic feeling or accepted from social training or custom.

Boys seem to be more truthful than girls in the early ages, becoming less truthful at twelve and thirteen. Girls become more truthful at twelve and thirteen than before, and at the same time

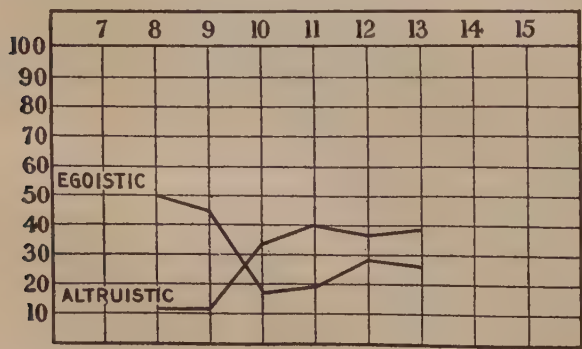
they have an evident struggle to maintain this truthfulness by the side of increased sympathy and good taste, *e. g.* girl of thirteen: "I do not like the picture in itself, but as a present I think it very nice." Girl of twelve: "Well uncle, it was not a very pretty picture certainly, but I like it quite as much as the other things you have sent me, and what a nice frame it has."

At twelve years old the girls' "Lie" line is slightly above the boys', but general tendency is towards vanishing when both sexes are taken together. Evasion is strongest at twelve, *e. g.*: "Thank you uncle. How much did it cost."

The "Compromise" line never rises above 6 per cent., but under this heading only the really skillful and tactful answers were collated. One does not expect to find tact in evidence early, for it is not a quality belonging to primitive life. It implies a certain intellectual and sympathetic insight into the situation of the moment, and the skill and grace of an artist to give just the right color to word and action, so as to maintain balance and harmony.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall says in his study on children's lies that selfishness is the chief cause of lying among children. This study bears out that opinion, for at the ages at which lying is most frequent, among the reasons given egoistic ones are strongest:

Ages .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.
Egoistic . .	50%	44%	17%	19%	28%	26%
Altruistic .	12%	11%	34%	40%	36%	37%



Here we find 50 per cent. of the eight-year-old children giving egoistic reasons for their answer. This includes reasons given for both truthful and untruthful answers, but this only serves to show

that children have little real sense of truth at this age, but that lie-telling and truth-telling are mainly a matter of expediency to bring about personal satisfaction.

At eight years, only 12 per cent. of the children give as a reason for telling the truth, that it is right. The line rises at nine to 31 per cent., but is not so high later, though its general tendency is to rise. Many children who tell the truth do so because they *feel* it is right, but this is often only implied in their papers.

Fear is mentioned as a reason for telling the truth only a very few times, and is never given as a reason for lying. The uncle was "kind" and so no fear was suggested to the children by the wording of the test. The children who give fear as a reason refer to punishment to follow lying, so that it is an "honesty is the best policy" motive which makes them tell the truth.

Affection for the uncle is given as a reason both for lying and truth-telling, 2 per cent. of the children tell the truth out of love for the uncle and 3 per cent. lie for the same reason. Four per cent. of the children say that they would lose their uncle's good opinion unless they modified the truth or told a lie,—these children are all girls.

A few children give as a reason for tempered truth and lie, the duty of contentment. Many of the children comfort the uncle along with their truthful answer and assure him that they will make the best of it, tell him "not to mind" and that they "hope for better next time."

Under the general heading "Spirit of Acceptance' were gathered the sub-headings, Utilitarian, Grateful, Appreciative, Deferential, Tolerant. The spirit of gratitude is strongest of all. Many children try to pick out something in the picture to admire, *e. g.* the frame, or hope that they will like it better some day. Others speak of the uncle's taste as being probably superior to their own as he is wiser and older. Others allow that his taste may be good though differing from theirs, and still claim a right to their own opinion, *e. g.* "Uncle I can't say I liked it very much but people's tastes differ."

Some children describe in detail what it is they do not like in the picture and what they do like, *e. g.* girl of nine: "The picture what Tom thought was very ugly was a skeleton. One day as Tom was walking along Lowestoft beach he saw a skeleton and

ran away from it. I should have answered if I had been Tom the picture is very ugly, because it made me frightened." Those papers in which the children describe what they like, and then tell the uncle they like the picture, were difficult to collate. The child's imagination may help him to build up a picture which he really admires. I am inclined to maintain that if a child's imagination leads him to believe that he likes the picture, then he is not telling a lie, if he says so. Others may maintain that this is lying since the imagination is leading to self deception.

Generalizations:

1. That the undeveloped mind is simple and direct in the expression of thought, and lacking judgment and power of control a statement is made as soon as the thought occurs. Therefore one would expect a young child to lie in as unpremeditated a fashion as he would tell the truth.

2. With the growth of social feeling comes the need for personal adjustment in order to maintain social harmony. Therefore the child tries to keep in with his fellows, softening circumstances by smoothness of speech or lying, if necessary. He likes to be approved.

3. This adjustment often means the adoption of some custom or conventionality. The child puts on the habit of politeness.

4. Affection for a person affects our treatment of him. The friend is treated better than the stranger. The man loved, better than the man hated. So that children would tell the truth rather than lie to the uncle they love, or lie so as not to hurt his feelings, because they love him.

Pedagogical conclusions:

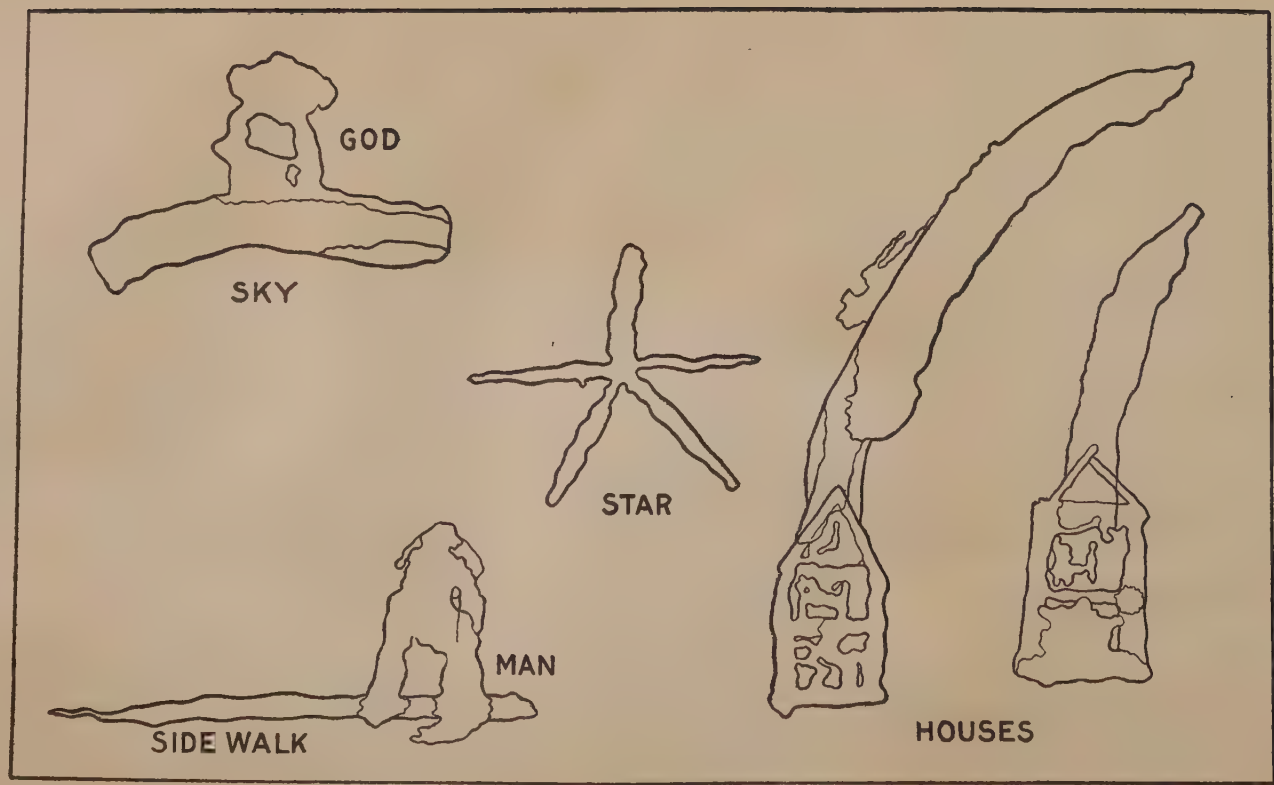
1. That as the lies of young children are usually spontaneous, *i. e.*, unpremeditated, therefore they should be dealt with accordingly, and the child should be exercised in self control and taught to think accurately.

2. That as deliberate lying may be resorted to by children in order to keep in with the present authority, the parent or teacher should show that truth speaking is more highly approved than pleasant manners.

3. That as tact demands some amount of intellectual, emotional and æsthetic development, all round culture is the best means to develop a tactful nature.

4. That as with the development of tact there comes a modification of truth, therefore in a child's early life there should be built up a habit of truthfulness, so that when the times comes for his adjustment to actual conditions the child shall not lose the spirit of truthfulness.

5. That as children in the early ages are truthful most frequently for selfish ends or for the sake of affection or personal feeling, and not for moral reasons, it is better to appeal to them on grounds such as they can understand and lead gradually to a recognition of the moral worth of truth.


GOD
SKY
STAR
MAN
SIDE WALK
HOUSES

STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. VII.

The Beginning of Synthesis.

This picture was given me by Miss Jennie B. Merrill, Supervisor of Kindergartens in New York city. She tells me it was made by one of the six-year-old kindergarten boys during the free time when he was allowed to draw whatever he liked. The original is a piece of brush work, executed in light blue water-color, and is about twice the size of this reproduction.

To me, the picture illustrates the daring, the fragmentariness, and the beginning of the desire for organization and for completeness which characterize the life of a six-year-old boy.

Those who object to having a young child use drawing freely as a language generally base their objection on the fact that the child cannot draw. But that is one of the reasons why he can use drawing to such good advantage as a language. He cannot draw, but he does not know that he cannot, and the symbolizing tendency described in our April number makes him free to attempt even the sky and God. Children under eight, if not already spoiled by bad teaching, can be depended upon to draw of their own volition, or on request, anything on the earth, or under the earth, or in the heavens above.

We do not know just what thought lay back of this child's work, and so we cannot be sure that we see all the plan which he had in his mind. The fragmentariness which is the most marked characteristic of the drawing is, however, the same that we uniformly find in all of a young child's work. And yet while all the expressions of a young child have this broken, chaotic character there are always the beginnings of order visible if we will seek them. In this picture the synthesis is one of upward direction; as the child climbs up his paper he climbs upward through the universe. As Dante constructed the world of Mediæval theology in his "Divine Comedy," so the child constructs the universe of childhood in this drawing. Starting with the sidewalk he puts man on it; the star is above the man; the sky is the background to the star; and God is over all. One can hardly believe that this

series of five elements is wholly accidental. All of a child's expressions show us that his chaotic life is everywhere shot through with these beginnings of organization. They give us our opportunity as teachers. So far, elementary education has spent most of its time considering how children get the sensations and ideas which furnish material for thought. In the future we are going to consider more carefully the lines of association, natural sequence or logic along which children tend to arrange their ideas.

But what virtue is there in drawing things that cannot be drawn, it will be asked. Will it not confuse the child's mind and perpetuate imperfect imagery? No, instead it will body forth and make real the fragmentary contents of the child's mind and form nuclei for clarification and organization. By attempting to draw the stars and the sky the child will become conscious of his insufficient knowledge and will seek more. Expression stimulates observation, corrects half-knowledge, and leads to organization of thought. "Writing maketh the exact man," says Bacon. But this is not writing, says the champion of waiting to do something till you know how to do it, it is debauchery of mind. Nevertheless it is writing, because it corresponds with the contents of the child mind, as Bacon's essays corresponded with the contents of Bacon's mind.

In studying the original, one feels that this brush work is admirably fitted for the needs of young children. One cannot have fine lines and niggling patterns with the brush, and so he is driven to let the child work himself out in large free movements that correspond with the central muscles that first develop. The star is two and a half inches across in the original drawing, and the making of a two and a half inch star corresponds with the anatomical development of a six-year-old boy.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. VIII.

Transitions.

"We all have a Santa Claus, all children, I mean. I say he lives in heaven because I don't know where my Santa Claus does live and he comes down at birth days and Christmas to get toys out of toy shops if the fathers and mothers pay for them. He doesn't take bad boys toys because their fathers and mothers won't pay."

Girl, six years old.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

The fact that life is a process of growth is almost universally recognized to-day, and it is further recognized that successive periods may be, and often are, very dissimilar. What is often not recognized is the fact that these dissimilar periods necessitate changes or transitions; that under normal conditions of growth these transitions are comparatively easy and safe; and that the more definitely they are recognized and provided for the easier the transitions become. Untrained people, acting unconsciously, recognize these changes and often treat them wisely; but the men and women who have formed the habit of thinking about life are very prone to shut their eyes and deny their existence. This seems to be due to the fact that we all find it easiest to think on our own present plane, and so through mere inertia are inclined to deny the existence of any other plane; and in the second place we all recognize the danger of arrested development, if the change is not made; and so, the wish being father to the thought, we deny the earlier stage in the hope that we can start humanity on our own present plane and thus avoid all danger.

To illustrate,—mankind has doubtless developed its prevailing number system through reckoning on the fingers. That is why we have a decimal system, instead of the duodecimal, which

would be more convenient and effective. Children who are learning to calculate instinctively count-up on their fingers. Untrained people allow this, but there soon comes a time when modern children must desert concrete symbols and organize abstract combinations in memory. This requires effort, and the child clings to finger-counting; and if he remains a finger-counter his number development is sadly arrested. Now the adult who has come to think about how he thinks finds himself functioning easily in abstract number calculations, and so he tends to think that a child can do the same, in kind, if not in quantity. Then he sees some child lingering over finger-counting when he should be recalling memorized combinations, and he exclaims: "Away with all finger-counting; it is unnecessary and dangerous." But still the fact remains that the child who has realized number through his fingers, and has then passed on to the abstract, has a far sounder number basis in his nervous system than has the child who was jumped at once into the abstract.

All this applies most strongly to beliefs. The eclectic common sense of the race clings tenaciously to Santa Claus, and the general range of child-mythology. Many intelligent adults look upon it all with suspicion—because they do not realize its need and they fear the transition. The statement above, by a girl of six, shows the Santa Claus transition just as it is passing over. Santa Claus is still accepted, but he is limited to children. He is located in heaven, not because of belief but because of convenience. He is entirely subordinated to parents and must act through them. In fact, he is only a shadowy agent of the parents, known only to children, and coming from nowhere, to carry the parent's will into effect. This is a remarkably clear picture of a transition period. Admiration, hope, sense of the future, stimulus to dreams, belief in reward for good conduct, sense of community of interest among all children,—these are the things that have gathered around the figure of Santa Claus. All these factors, enlarged and beautified, are just passing over to father and mother; and the child will be the stronger for it; and his love for and trust in parents will be the stronger for it; and he will not distrust them because he feels the basis of loving unselfishness under the play they have had together.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. VIII.

New Studies.

In any piece of work where we are dealing with concrete material we are sure to have new questions rising at each stage of the inquiry. These problems are often so important and so attractive that nothing but the firmest resolution can prevent our neglecting the question under immediate consideration to follow the new lines.

In connection with this study on ideals many such questions have arisen, and in this number I want to indicate some of them that would seem to repay study.

In the first place we need to establish a standard for the growth from local to world ideals. We need to study a picked group of children from good homes, devoted to parents and obedient, intimately associated with the local life of school, Sunday-school, athletics and the like; and yet wide readers of good children's literature, and well informed, for children, concerning the life of the outside world. There are many such communities in America, and it is from a study of their children that our standard of growth in these lines must be formed.

In the second place, our study has dealt only with a little arc of life, from eight to fourteen years of age. This same study ought to be extended to little children on the one hand, through careful personal talks, and to high-school children and adults on the other hand. I believe that with little children the acquaintance line would cover nearly all choices, but with adults I doubt if the public character ideals would go on increasing indefinitely. There would probably come a time when there would be a stronger devotion to local ideals again.

In the third place, intensive studies should be made on local, historical and literary ideals through limiting the question to "what person whom you have known;" and in another set of papers to "what historical character;" and in a third to "what character in literature." These studies would indicate needed

changes in our teaching, and they would be of great general value as well.

The subject of women-ideals deserves a very careful special study. If the question were put, "What woman whom you have known, or of whom you have heard or read would you most wish to be like? Why?" it would show us the range of women ideals now available in schools; and would prepare the way for a reform in our treatment of women in the curriculum. Two of the leading newspapers of the country have lately been discussing the lack of memorials of all kinds to women in a country where they are supposed to be actively engaged in all the walks of public life.

Meantime the study in the form in which we have used it should be multiplied a thousand times, in country and city, with rich and poor, with different nationalities, with different courses of study, with different sorts of teachers.

The next numbers will contain some of these specialized studies.

CHILDREN'S IDEAS OF WAR.

War has power to stir the feelings of a whole nation more deeply than any other calamity that can befall mankind. Plagues, famines, or other catastrophes are limited in their immediate effects and they appeal mainly to fear; but war touches every man, woman and child in the countries involved and it appeals to all the emotions of the soul.

In the great modern democracies everyone feels a sense of personal responsibility for causing a war, for supporting it with men and means, and for its success or failure. Add to this the fact that the people are increasingly living in urban communities, where hundreds of thousands of people are in immediate touch with each other, where the railroad, the steamship, the telegraph and the telephone keep all classes in immediate contact with all parts of the world, and where conversation, the press, the theatre and the procession give constant and immediate publicity to all events, or rumors of events; and we have the conditions for an alert and sensitive public consciousness such as the world has never before known.

During the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894-95, we are told, whole provinces of China remained in ignorance of the war even after the conclusion of peace. During antiquity, and through the Middle Ages, similar conditions must have prevailed where the country was not actually invaded. In the recent war in South Africa there can hardly have been a man, woman or child in the whole British Empire who did not follow the development of affairs from day to day, while in London with its five millions of people, even the wildest rumors were followed with feverish interest.

News from the front was presented with all the vivid color and impassioned feeling commanded by such correspondents as Winston Churchill, G. W. Steevens and Bennet Burleigh, and all this was supplemented by letters sent home by troopers, and by journals kept day by day in the beleaguered towns of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. Outside every news stand, posters in big letters gave the striking headings; and in the evening, or at mid-day, "leather-lungers," as they came to be called, with special

editions still wet from the press, rushed wildly down the streets bellowing the latest rumors from South Africa.

The immense places of amusement known as Music Halls, the Palace, Alhambra, Empire, and a score of others, with the new Hippodrome, the Crystal Palace, and the Aquarium were all devoted to khaki and the war. Night after night, the crowded audiences listened to songs and jokes intended to inflame public passions; while the biograph, and similar inventions, brought South African landscapes, marching soldiers, charging cavalry, maneuvring and firing artillery and the pictures of favorite generals before the masses with life-like reality. On the evening of Majuba day, 1900, I went to one of these places where a little play was presented in which a collection of wax works was supposed to come to life. This gave opportunity to bring the popular military heroes and the despicable enemy before the audience in a series of striking tableaux. Cheer after cheer greeted the British heroes, while Oom Paul was hissed to heart's content, and finally hustled off the stage in disgrace.

Organizations to raise funds for the "Absent Minded Beggar," and those he left behind him, used every means to interest and excite public feeling. Bazaars were opened, and processions of soldiers and firemen with bands and emblematic floats, miles long, worked their way through streets decorated with flags and filled with cheering people.

On March 8, 1900, the Queen came to London and drove on three consecutive afternoons through the crowded streets of her capital, cheered by hundreds of thousands of eager subjects. No one who watched these long lines of earnest men and women cheering their queen, who stood to them for national life and imperial unity, could doubt the determination of the English people to see the war to a successful finish.

With the relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking, London went wild with delight. Processions sprang up as from the pavements, and for hours the great metropolis thrilled and reverberated with the victorious cries of six millions of people.

The English children were profoundly affected by this agitation of the national spirit. Conversation in the homes and in public turned for weeks on the military situation; and boy heroes were not wanting. Among them the most famous was Bugler

Dunn. At Colenso he was wounded, but shifted the bugle to the other hand and played on until he fell and was carried away to the ambulance. His bugle was lost, but after his recovery the Queen gave him a personal interview, and presented him with a new silver bugle inscribed with a record of his bravery. When she asked him what he wanted to do next he gallantly replied, "I want to return to the front and fight for your Majesty." Of course, he became the idol of young England. In the great pageants, organized to gather funds, children figured largely. In the St. Pancras Festival I should say 50 per cent. of those riding on the floats were children. In the schools, all kinds of military organizations sprang up; on the news of a victory the children were assembled to sing "God Save the Queen," and after the relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking the schools were given holidays.

Under the conditions, it is small wonder that the children were swept off their feet with war enthusiasm. Everywhere they played Boer and English, the weakest children being commandeered to play the Boer part. Daily one passed processions of them marching in the crowded streets. One wondered how they got together, but there they were, twenty to thirty strong, six to twelve years old. All were armed with swords or guns, some toy imitations, but many made from sticks. Most of the children had brown paper tied around their legs for khaki; two or three had real helmets and the others had paper caps made to represent them. A drum or two, or a mouth organ, headed the procession; an officer marched at the side with his whittled sword drawn and held at salute. In the rear came an improvised stretcher, a soap box on two wheels or an old baby carriage bearing a boy with arm in sling and head bound up in cloth, to which brick dust had added bloodstains. Almost invariably two to six girls came behind with paper caps and aprons, and red crosses on their arms. Repeatedly I have stood and watched the young conquerors marching in step, with eyes set straight ahead, and all the ardor of battle in their bearing. Cabs and drays would crowd or break the line but it re-formed without disorder and marched bravely on. "There go the men who will fight the next war," said a laborer beside me one day. "No," retorted another, "there go the men who will make the next war."

I had been in London during all the earlier period of the war

and in January, 1900, I returned after some three months of absence. The darkest days of South African anxiety were already past and everywhere there was an upspringing sense of hope which was justified a few days later by the relief of the three beleaguered cities, Ladysmith, Mafeking and Kimberley. Everywhere I was impressed with the great force that was swaying and forming the national spirit, and I naturally wondered how it was affecting the children. How does a war waged in a distant province influence the children in the imperial capital, themselves removed from the war but influenced by its echoes? What aspects of war seize on their imaginations and form new centers of thought. To throw some light on the matter I gathered papers written by school children as composition exercises in response to the direction: "Write me a composition on the South African War and tell me why our soldiers are fighting there." The first part of the direction, "Write me a composition on the South African War," was intended to give us general returns showing what features of war appealed to boys and girls at different ages; and the last part: "tell me why our soldiers are fighting there" was to give us some common detail treated by all so that we could make comparisons.

I have no desire to raise any question touching the right or wrong of the South African War, nor of any war. I missed a great opportunity a few months before of making a similar study in America on the Spanish-American War; and the object then, as here, would have been to determine what aspects of war appeal to children living in the midst of its echoes but removed from its immediate presence.

This study, like all studies on children, should moreover, throw light upon the management of adult opinion. If developing mind tends to pass, in its relation to any field of feeling or knowledge, from simple beginnings, say A, through successive stages B, C, and D, then we should expect to have, and practically we do have, adults who represent development arrested at each of these points. We greatly strengthen our control over opinion if we know the stages through which the minds of men develop; and these stages can often be most easily and surely discovered through the study of children.

In preparing this article I have worked over compositions

written by 1,217 English children; 195 Board School boys; 509 Board School girls; 68 Secondary School boys; and 445 Secondary School girls. The statistics presented are based entirely upon the 714 children from Board Schools, and thus they represent the laboring and artisan classes of England.

In writing these compositions the children were dealing with facts far removed from them and yet, through personal relations, intimately connected with their daily life. "Mary and I," writes a girl of eight, "saw two soldiers going to the war yesterday afternoon when we were out. We had a letter from my Brother and he said that long tom was done for now O and we saw to others but they were not in there uniform." "I like to know about the war," writes another child, "because I know someone at the war his name is Mr. Smith he is in the C I V cour and a fine fellow he is my father knows someone who knows General Woodgate." "Some people are killed by the men," writes another, "my unkill has his arme off with pain." One girl who wrote for me had twelve near relatives fighting with the imperial forces. This personal relation to the theme led the children to treat it with earnestness and often in picturesque and striking ways.

In examining the papers, I wish to consider first the children's intellectual attitude towards the war and then the feelings aroused and stimulated by it.

Few of the children had read much about the war. They had gained their feelings through contagion, in the homes and in the street, and their ideas from conversation of elders and from talking among themselves. Here, then, we had history forming in undeveloped minds, and partly freed from the influence of the printing press which so quickly stereotypes words, phrases and records. Under these circumstances, we should expect that some of the characteristics of history formed among primitive people would be reproduced, and this anticipation is justified by the facts.

Names are the most persistent nuclei around which history gathers, but when tradition is preserved in spoken words even these nuclei undergo many transformations. In a few hundred years Theodoric became Dietrich of Berne, and we find the name of an old town like Guildford in Surrey appearing in records as: Guldeford, Gildford, Gilford, Gillford, Guldford, Gulford, Gilforde, Gyuldeford, Gilfirthe and Gwyferd.

In the children's compositions this same law of variation in words is strongly at work. Mr. Kruger, at the time the most strongly marked character in South Africa, appears as Kuger, Ruger, Cruger, Keger, Kergar, Kreuzer, Kurger, Koeugr, Kurge, Kreujre and Corgige. Cronje goes through the forms: Conly, Conceer, Chronge, Crongie, Condy, Crongy, Crunge, Chrongy, Krangie and Kroing; McDonald becomes Dan Donald; and even Baden Powell appears as Barden Powell, Baden plowe, Parden Powell, Parnell Powell and Paden Paul. Names of places undergo the same changes, and Pretoria appears as: Pietorer, Pretoia, Pietorlill, Pricktrorer, Pietoria, Pretrea, Pretoa, Pictoral, Pretorer, Prestoria and Pritorier.

This confusion of details which leads to endless variety in names, naturally carries over into geographical facts. Thus we have the statements that: "The land they are fighting for is Pictoral [Pretoria] they are also fighting for the good queen Victoria. We are now fighting for Makiefic, we have already won Bounfoentin. The Prince and Princes of Whales visited the wounded." "Our English are fighting for the Capital of South Africa and its name is Pretrea." "The transvaal and Kimberley were just on the coast of our country so our people said we ought to have them."

In dealing with historical matters this same confusion creeps in. Detailed facts are misapplied as letters are misapplied in proper names. It will be remembered that much had been said about the time of residence demanded by the Boers before granting the franchise, three, five and seven years being often mentioned. These times appear in compositions, applied to subjects far removed from the franchise. "They asked us if we would lend them our gold and silver mine for five years and they have kept it for seven years that's what we are fighting for." And again, "So they said would we let them be there until Five years so we said, No, so they said that they would have war." These misstatements are, of course, far removed from wilful perversion of facts. They are combinations of real details that misspell the facts of history. If the children are a little more ignorant, and a little more daring, we have such statements as "We have captured Cronjee and he is in Pretroia with Kruger;" or, "General Joubert died on an island called St. Helena." These gross misapplications

of details are not so dangerous as the half truths that appeal to undeveloped minds: "I think Lord Chamberland could have sent out money and brought the miners home." "We are fighting because the English people want the French people to learn English and the Boers dont." The misrepresentations in which the wish is evidently father to the thought are rare in these papers, though they do occur. Thus a boy in trying to explain why General Buller crossed the Tugela so often says: "Buller kept going backwards and forwards so as to make the boers think that they were to strong for us so that French could relive Kimberley." General Cronje had been captured just before these papers were written, and a boy writes: "Although Cronje was such a wicked man he did not mean to Surrender he did not care for the life of his poor soldiers But when he was wounded himself he did give in because he was afraid of his own life and they are now all taken prisoners."

These illustrations sufficiently show how through changes in names, in places, and in details, undeveloped minds, depending largely on news that goes from mouth to mouth, may create false and partisan history without any one telling an intentional lie.

If we come now to the specific question, "Why are we fighting there?" we find in the children's answers excellent illustrations of the way in which minds on different planes of development approach the causes of a war. Among the youngest children we find a small group who simply see a fight in progress in which they want to win, or else some definite material thing to be gained. The strongest appeal, however, at this early age is made by a sounding phrase; nearly all the children want to fight for Queen and country. When a little older, they see wrongs to be redressed, fellow countrymen misused and lands seized, and they want to set things right. The oldest of the children examined begin to feel the racial and constitutional issues involved and to realize that taxation without representation justifies force. Let us examine each of these groups more in detail.

The group of answers representing the lowest grade mind are doubtless those that say: "Because there are gold mines over there and we wanted to have them for our own." "To get possessions into our power." "Because the English want to get South Africa." "Because Kruger wanted his own way." "Be-

cause the Boers will not obay us, and do as they ought to do so we want to punish them." "Our soldiers are fighting in South Africa because to get the country for our Queen." "The reason that the English have gone to war with the Boers at South Africa is that they are going to show the Boers how they can fight." "Our soldiers are fighting with the Boers because we want the gold mines in South Africa and the Boers want them to so we are fighting for them and see who gets them." The grade of mind represented in these papers rests on the lust of fighting and the greed of possession.

Most of the school children at eight years old have passed the point where these are the only motives, and they almost entirely disappear as dominant motives at the close of the elementary school period. If we put the children into three groups, the percentages of those who concentrate their attention on the fight and the plunder are:

Ages	8 and 9 yrs.	10 and 11 yrs.	12 and 13 yrs.
Boys	22%	4%	4%
Girls	13%	10%	8%

It is often said that this attitude of mind belongs to all grades of development; but that the more intelligent minds cloak these crude desires with conventional phrases. This is certainly not true; the desire to win and the desire for gain constantly arise as echoes out of our old fighting past; but most of the people in a modern democracy would not go into a war unless urged by higher causes. The significance of this group of answers for our study, lies in showing how early this low grade cast of mind tends to disappear. At the same time we shall always have undeveloped or arrested intelligence among us which will respond to appeals of this class.

The strongest appeal that can be made to the younger children seems to be the appeal to loyalty and self-protection embodied in the phrase "for Queen and country." In the great majority of cases the writers do not go behind the phrase, they simply say: "Our Soldiers are fighting for our Queen and country." When they do go behind the words they often take them very literally: "Our soldiers are fighting for the Queen and so the Boers cant kill the queen for if our soldiers wont fight the Boers would take our land and Kruger would raing over our Country and put some people in prison." "The Boers were coming over our country

and wanted to kill us and take our cattle and make us slaves." "Our soldiers are fighting because the Boers were rude to our Queen." "The Boers wish to get all England and our Queen prisoners."

The following table shows the percentage of children who say the soldiers are fighting for Queen and country:

Ages	8 and 9 yrs.	10 and 11 yrs.	12 and 13 yrs.
Boys	76%	58%	44%
Girls	41%	19%	12%

This table is very significant as showing how an effective phrase, backed by nebulous ideas and feelings can take hold upon undeveloped minds. "On to Richmond," "Remember the Maine," "Remember Majuba," have been fateful cries to our people. The way in which the phrase loses its dominating power as intelligence develops is interesting and full of encouragement for those of us who base our hopes for the future of democracy in a diffused education. The girls feel the power of the phrase much less than the boys do, possibly because mass movements in political and social life, such as gather around phrases, are supposed to belong to men and hence are not cultivated in girls.

If we turn now to those reasons for the war that appeal increasingly to the children as they grow in years, and presumably in intelligence, the most important is a feeling that the British have been ill-treated. It is not clear to most of the children in what this ill-treatment consists, and so they fall back upon concrete statements which seem to them to justify war. They say: "The first of this war was the Boers were knocking down the English if they did not give them half of their wages." "Our soldiers are fighting in south Africa becuorse if an English man seteld in the land the Bours wold come and tern them out and Rob them so our Soldiers had to go and fight them." "because the Boers wanted the English people over in South Africa to be slaves." "When English people wanted to go and settle in the Transvaal they could not do so in safety, for the Boers hate the English, and if they found out that there were any English people staying there they would be killed or taken prisoner." "they come and rob our people of all their property and then hang them in their own houses." "The Boers have been making the Englishmen work hard out there and have hardly give them any money for working for them."

These multiplied instances show how easily a mind on the elementary school child's plane turns a general statement of grievance into the concrete. It is another illustration of the way in which facts are created without intention to deceive. The percentages of those who charge mistreatment of the British are:

Ages	8 and 9 yrs.	10 and 11 yrs.	12 and 13 yrs.
Boys	11%	30%	38%
Girls	7%	23%	25%

The last reason given by the children, which we are to consider, is taxation without representation. This was the cause of war constantly put forward by the English imperialist party. It had filled the papers for months, and down to the time of Mr. Kruger's ultimatum the demand for a change in the conditions of the franchise was the principal demand put forward by the English. Not a child of eight or nine mentions this as cause for war and the percentages for all ages stand:

Ages	8 and 9 yrs.	10 and 11 yrs.	12 and 13 yrs.
Boys	0%	10%	29%
Girls	0%	2%	9%

Where this cause is given it is almost always clearly stated, "Because the English were not allowed the franchise in the Transvaal. Every Boer in England has the freedom to vote." "Our soldiers fighting in South Africa are doing it for the same cause that the Americans fought in George III's time. England taxed the Americans, but would not let them have votes, so they rebeled. It is the same with the English now, they went out & lived often for many years in the Transvaal, The Boer Government made the English pay their taxes as an ordinary native of their country, the English did so. But after a time the English wanted to votes but the Boers would not let them so England went to war."

This extended examination of causes assigned by the children shows how different the appeal to undeveloped minds must be from that addressed to developed minds in all that relates to war. The English historian will dwell upon the restricted franchise and the unequal taxation as the real causes of war. These grievances appeal but little to untrained minds. The historian will dwell upon race prejudices and will discuss a Dutch conspiracy; the

untrained minds do not mention them. The historian will dwell upon the grievances of Englishmen; the untrained mind also makes this plea and furnishes forth its own concrete details. Of Queen and Country, the desire to win a fight and secure plunder, avowed by nearly all the children, the historian will say nothing, because they were not the real causes of the war. But these are the lines of appeal that arouse the Jingo mind.

In working over the papers an attempt was made to determine the relative popularity of the heroes on either side. General Buller was certainly the popular English leader; General White came second; and Lord Roberts was third. A few weeks earlier all England was ringing with the praises of Baden Powell, but he was seldom mentioned by the children. Lord Kitchener was also seldom mentioned by the children; his method of conducting war does not appeal to undeveloped minds. General Cronje had just been captured and he was most often mentioned among the Boer leaders. General Joubert had been dead only a few days but he was already forgotten. Anyone who followed the interest in popular heroes to the end of the war, and since, must have realized how uncertain and fleeting is ordinary military fame. Just after Commodore Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet, 27 per cent. of the children in an American school who described their ideal man, took Mr. Dewey. In a recent study using the same test, out of 2,000 children not one chose Mr. Dewey. In war, passions go on, but the individuals around whom they temporarily gather are but accidental nuclei.

If we turn now from the examination of the way children think about war to the way they feel about it we find some interesting facts. In the first place, the war spirit arouses all the sensibilities as well as the passions of the writers. The papers are alive with feeling. Even the youngest of the children rise superior to the mechanical difficulties of written compositions and their papers often ring with the ardor of battle. The following from a boy of ten could hardly have been produced on any other theme: "Our Soldiers are fighting to defend our lands and rights. Remember Majuba cried a soldier and they avenge it. Roberts has promised to lead the Guards into Pretoria will he keep it? Our Colonial troops have proved loyal to their queen and country. But there will come a day when the Union Jack shall fly over Pretoria. God save the Queen."

Throughout the war, there was in England a large anti-war party. Now and then a child wrote a pro-Boer paper, but I found only twelve in the 714 papers written in the Board Schools. The children seem to take to war instinctively, and in homes where the anti-war spirit was very strong it was still difficult to prevent the children catching the contagion. To avoid it the parents generally led their children to fight against the war,—which comes to much the same thing pedagogically. In one anti-war home I was astonished one day to find the little boy of the house arrayed in a uniform, with a sword at his side, shooting at a target with an air gun. "Yes," said the father, "I got tired of keeping it down, and I have concluded to let him have his war experience out."

Among the particular passions that appear in the papers I think egotism leads. It is said that war always turns us back towards our earlier brute life, and excessive egoism is one of the strongest marks of undeveloped mind. "I should like to see old Kruger," cries a boy of nine, "I would make him run, I would get a stick and run after him, and I would make the boers run to." "Our Soldiers are fighting for the Right," declares another boy of eleven. "And as John Bull says It is a fight to the finish. The Enemy are fighting for Freedom and Independence but we are not such big fools as to let them have it. No. The English want absolute Power and they will have it."

But with all this unlovely, aggressive egotism there is a vast amount of undisguised admiration for the enemy. Englishmen have always justly prided themselves on their sense of fair play; the nation admires a good sportsman who can give and take; and these papers show that the quality is not lacking in the on-coming generation. This appears strongly in the children's characterizations of Mr. Kruger and the Boers.

Twenty-one per cent. of the children speak of Mr. Kruger, and while it would be possible to pick out papers that describe him as wicked, hypocritical, lying, crafty, obstinate, superstitious, or ignorant, such papers represent less than 2 per cent. of the children. He lacks the military dash that attracts undeveloped minds, but the children seldom go out of their way to abuse him.

The charge of treachery is constantly brought against the Boers, especially in connection with the use of the white flag,

but with this goes a generous recognition of their craftiness, their resourcefulness and their strategic ability as fighters. "The Boers are half savages," they say, "but they are a very brave nation." At first we thought it not worth sending many soldiers to South Africa but we found the difference." "The Boers have better gones than we have they are much bigger the Boers are better suters than we are." "The Boers are getting the best of it because they go up among the hills very early in the morning ready to attack our soldiers." In our own Spanish-American War the combatants were so unequally matched that I fear the egotism of our children was developed without much of the admirable corrective that the English children had, especially in the later period of the war.

Yet we must not overstate this magnanimity. Throughout the papers runs a spirit of bitter hatred and a desire for revenge that reads curiously in papers written by children living in one of the most highly civilized centers of the modern world.

One might imagine that such a national experience would give an excellent opportunity to cultivate a feeling of pity and compassion for suffering, if the parents and teachers were wise. I doubt if much can be done in this direction, judging by these papers. If a boy sends his pennies to aid soldiers in a hospital he will probably have the feeling that he is helping on the war, much as though he were shoveling in the trenches. For months before these papers were written the papers had been filled with pictures and stories of the horrors of war in beleaguered cities and on battle fields, yet the following table shows how relatively few of the younger children in their papers referred to suffering of any kind:

Ages	8 and 9 yrs.	10 and 11 yrs.	12 and 13 yrs.
Boys	25%	66%	80%
Girls	34%	48%	60%

The following are typical papers: "I think the war is very dreadful there is a lot of soldiers dead with bullets in them" "It is a dreadful war such a number of soldiers have been killed, wounded and captured and some at this present time who are laying dead on the battle field with horses hoofs treading on them. But for all this we are not fighting for nothing. Our soldiers are fighting for our Queen, and not only for South

Africa but for the gold mines and diamonds." "There are many soldiers who have gone to fight out at South Africa and have had their arms and legs cut off and some who have had such bad wounds that they have died from them. Most of the soldiers like going out and fighting and say it is like Hide and Seek and like being there very much indeed. The soldiers out at the war are very badly fed and they are so badly off that they have to kill dogs and make dog soop." Even these general recognitions of the suffering entailed by war are rare and the lust of killing and the desire for adventure quite overshadow them.

The amount of anxiety and grief entailed on English homes by the war was incalculable, and now and then a child seemed to realize it. "Not only in Africa," writes a girl of fourteen, "but in England also, and in all places where relations have gone from, the sadness of this year I think will never be forgotten. Everyone has a relation friend or mere acquaintance out fighting for our Queen, and country, and not only fighting for them, but dying for them brave and true to the end." The following table, however, shows how very rarely the children mentioned this factor of suffering at home in their papers:

Ages	8 and 9 yrs.	10 and 11 yrs.	12 and 13 yrs.
Boys	0%	2%	17%
Girls	0%	4%	8%

Only one child mentioned the devastation of South Africa and the consequent misery of its inhabitants.

As a means of cultivating human sympathy and compassion in the on-coming generations, war waged in distant provinces, seems to be a failure.

The conclusions to be drawn from this study have been indicated throughout the presentation. To summarize briefly we must say:

Wars of empire take powerful hold on undeveloped minds, greatly stimulating all the activities of feeling and thought.

In the first stage examined, the mind is dominated by lust of fight and desire for plunder.

In the next stage, though contemporary with the first, the controlling factor is some large, vague generalization, such as Queen and Country, backed by nebulous ideas and feelings.

In the third stage, the social instinct demands justice for one's

fellows, and the injustices charged against the enemy are cast in convenient, concrete forms.

In the fourth stage, abstract principles are considered at stake, and the struggle gathers about them.

Persons are but shifting points around which passions gather. The persons pass; the passions are transferred—and live on.

In all these stages the emotions are very active and tend to revert to lower forms.

Egotism comes strongly to the front; fear, hatred and revenge are much in evidence.

In a fairly equal struggle, the sense of fair play may be called out and magnanimity may be developed.

Sentiments of pity and feelings of sympathy seem crowded into the background by the extreme desire to win.

But, it will be said, the study shows the undoubted interest of children in war and shall we not follow the interests of children? Yes, when they are healthy and lead to higher forms of life; but not when they are reversions to lower types of life. War seems to lead backward, not forward; and yet the children, and adults who are children in mind, need it for their complete growth. Low grade adults must probably still have it. Personally, I believe that high grade adults and their offspring can be vaccinated through higher forms of struggle with sickness, injustice, poverty, and wickedness, and through history, literature and art so that they will be immune from contagion, except possibly at times when the war spirit becomes widely epidemic.

CHILDREN'S TRAVEL INTERESTS.

SARAH YOUNG.

What do children see when they travel, children who have their ways of looking at things determined by limited experience and immature intelligence? Such a question should be of interest to all teachers and parents who believe that to work with a knowledge of a child's tendencies is to work along the line of least resistance. The subject should be of particular value to the teacher of geography; for we can come to understand the unknown only through what is familiar; and our worlds of thought and imagination are created for each of us out of elaborated and differently arranged fragments of the world of sense experience. Hence the child's knowledge of his own environment and action, what he selects instinctively from it as worthy of attention, with what he is trained to observe there, must be the basis of the knowledge he acquires of the earth as the scene of the action and experience of all humanity.

It is for these reasons that the following question was given to 1,280 children in English Elementary Schools: Write an account of any journey you have ever made which you have enjoyed very much.

The answers were written by one hundred boys and one hundred girls of each age from eight to thirteen inclusive, and there were thirty boys' papers and fifty girls' papers written by children of fourteen. The percentages are reckoned, not on the number of papers, but on the number of statements made. A statement is taken to mean a simple sentence, or the principal member of a compound sentence with its subordinate clauses.

The question may reasonably be asked at the outset of this inquiry: Is the travel experience of elementary school children of sufficient extent to render our study valuable? An analysis of the journeys made by the children who wrote the papers, will best answer this question. Two-thirds of the writers belonged to London schools, the remaining third were pupils in Brighton schools. Of the 1,280 children who wrote, eighteen, or between

1 and 2 per cent., described journeys abroad, including one to India, one to Australia, one to Italy, one to Switzerland, three to Germany, one to Holland, one to Belgium and nine to France. Fourteen had been to Wales, fifteen to Scotland and two to Ireland; about 2 per cent. in all. Journeys of from one hundred to about three hundred miles were made by 16 per cent. of the children; these were north, south, east and west, from Newcastle to Penzance; 40 per cent. made journeys of from fifty to one hundred miles, chiefly south of the Thames, through Kent, Surrey and Sussex; 14 per cent. were short journeys under ten miles; 13 per cent. were in the native town of the writer, and the remaining papers, about 14 per cent., do not specify where the journeys were made.

The greater number were train journeys but a good number were steamboat expeditions. Some were made in a carriage or brake, some on a bicycle; some of the writers reached their destination by omnibus, while others walked. Some describe the journey only, but the majority say something about experiences on the way and what happened at the other end during their stay.

The above analysis shows that the experiences described by the writers are of sufficient variety and extent to answer our purpose. These journeys involved experiences with mountains, hills, valleys, rivers, cities, flora and fauna, industries, historical sites,—all the material of the geography text-book and atlas.

The first set of statistics gathered from the papers has no reference to the geography interests of the child, but they are not without value to the general child student. The number of statements made by each writer was counted and the average for each child at each age was as follows:

Ages .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	8	10	14	15	17	15	14
Girls . . .	6	7	8	9	13	11	12

The average number of statements made by the boys at any age is greater than that of the girls at the corresponding age; the number increases with both sexes, until after twelve years of age, when there is a decrease.

The general increase probably means that with advancing years, a child can observe more in any experience; he can remember more of it; he is able to express himself with more facility;

and he has better command over the instruments of expression. The decrease after twelve years of age may mean that the writer stops to think before he writes, and hence does not write so much in a given time; or it may mean that instead of the short, disjointed statements of an earlier time he later uses the longer, more complex periods of maturer intelligence.

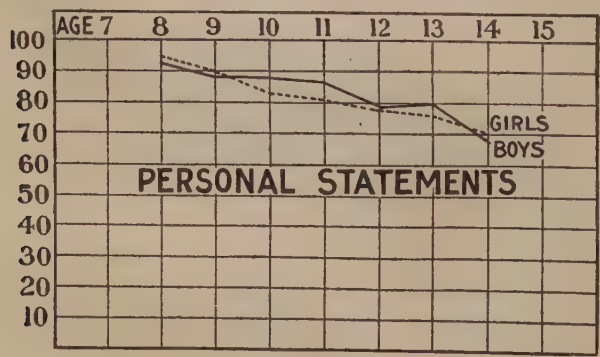
A preliminary reading of a group of papers selected from those of different ages, determined the next line of analysis. The personal or egoistic note seemed to dominate the papers to so striking a degree that the average percentage of personal statements at different ages was calculated. The following are illustrations of what is meant:

Boy of eleven: "We used to go and catch shrimps."

Girl of eleven: "It was so windy that it blew off my hat."

The papers are full of what "happened to me;" what "I did;" what "I thought;" indicating the extent to which the writers ignored as of relatively little value what was "not self." The following table shows the percentage of personal statements made by the boys and girls at different ages:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	91%	88%	88%	87%	79%	80%	67%
Girls . . .	96%	90%	83%	82%	78%	77%	70%



From the personal statements, a further calculation was made as to the number that dealt with any form of personal activity. Examples are:

Boy of nine: "I liked to paddle in the sea and to splash water at each other."

Boy of eleven: "I helped the shepherd to drive the sheep."

Boy of thirteen: "I went with the farmer to market to sell pigs and cows."

Girl of ten: "We went blackberrying and I brought home a gallon."

Boy of twelve: "We had a good game of cricket."

The following table shows the proportion of statements at different ages that embodied personal activity:

Ages .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . .	10%	10%	9%	7%	7%	6%	6%
Girls . .	12%	10%	11%	10%	8%	4%	3%

What is the significance of these facts? They seem to show that though the scene of a child's existence be changed temporarily to another part of the earth's surface the new environment is chiefly valuable as setting for his experiences, a stage on which he may play a part. He is not occupied with sea and sands and fields for their own sakes primarily; they do not call forth curiosity, admiration or astonishment. The Roman Coliseum would be remembered merely as a fine open space in which to run about, full of nooks and corners for hide-and-seek; or else the writer would recollect that he had toothache or lost his penknife there.

A quantitative comparison of these children's papers with the travel record of an highly evolved adult, gives some interesting differences. For this comparison I have taken 1,000 statements from Goethe's letters, some describing a tour in Switzerland and some a journey in the Rhineland. In the former there would be nature and community life; they were written to Frau von Stein and were thus presumably of a specially personal nature. Applying the same tests as to the children's narratives, 39 per cent. of the statements are personal and 61 per cent. impersonal.

A similar analysis was made of 1,000 statements in a well-known book of travels, Stanley's "Darkest Africa." Here the personal statements were 37 per cent. and the impersonal 63 per cent. of the whole.

The attitude of the adult of intelligent and well furnished mind towards unfamiliar scenes is thus very different from that of the child. It is the Copernican *versus* the Ptolemaic theory of the universe.

The child is nearer to primitive man for whose individual sake the rain descends and the sun shines. The savage has neither æsthetic nor scientific interest; the tidal river is useful to bear his boat; he does not seek explanation of the daily ebb and flow; he is occupied with keeping himself alive. The child's activities are often similar but not directed to the end of self-support; and so we call them play. Perhaps the nearest analogue to the child is the Bank Holiday tripper to whom Hampstead Heath and Epping Forest are places where there is sufficient room to have swings and horse-play; or the tourist who cares nothing for the historical or literary associations of Lake Geneva, who is incurious as to the physical forces that called it into being, insensible to its æsthetic appeal, but keenly alive to its facilities for rowing or swimming.

The problem for the primary teacher in the geographical and historical instruction is to lead the pupil towards the Goethe attitude, and away from that of 'Arry and 'Arriet. More and more, as the pupil grows older, should he realize that the whole earth and each corner of it is interesting, not only because it is the scene of his own industrial and recreative activities, but because it is the background for the manifold phases of the whole drama of life. Still, since egoism is the especial note of undeveloped mind like that of childhood, the starting-point for geographical instruction would seem to be what affects the pupil personally,—his home, his town, his country, a knowledge of where the food on his breakfast table comes from, and how it reaches him.

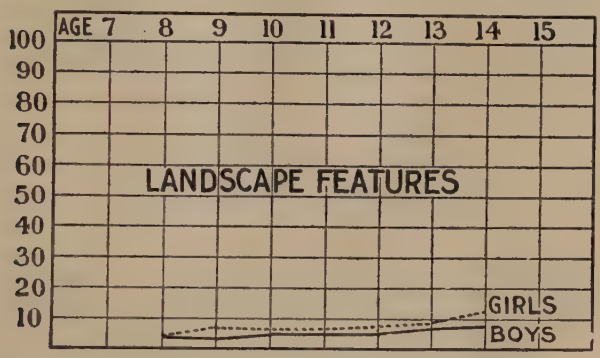
Geography is variously defined as "the study of place relations" (topographical geography); as "the study of the surface of the earth" (physical geography); as "the study of man in communities" (commercial, political, historical geography).

Any travel experience in an inhabited part of the world, even if it extended only over an area of a few miles, would afford geography material under each of these headings; hence, with these distinctions in mind, the papers were read for the purpose of discovering for what kinds of geographical data the child has a natural appetite. Observations, made under these headings, should represent the germs of the scientific, æsthetic or human interest we found in Goethe's and Stanley's records, as distinct

from the personal and utilitarian interests of the savage and the child.

Let us first see what attention the children paid to the physical aspects of the country through which they made their journeys. If we collect all references to landscape features from the compositions they include the following proportions of all the statements made at the different ages:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	3%	3%	5%	5%	5%	8%	9%
Girls . . .	3%	5%	5%	5%	7%	9%	11%



There is evidence here that the elementary children have no considerable interest in landscape, but that with both sexes there is a gradually growing interest with the years in natural features for their own sakes—*e. g.* the sea is not merely something in which to paddle or bathe, but it is noticed that the tide is coming in or going out, that the waves are dancing under a bright sun, or that there are chalk cliffs along the shore. Generally speaking, if any natural feature is noticed, some epithet indicating size, colour, or movement, suggests why it attracted attention.

Boy of nine: "I saw a waterfall which was a very fine sight."

Boy of eleven: "I saw some great chalk pits."

Boy of thirteen: "When we got to the South Down we saw great holes cut in the chalk hills."

Boy of thirteen: "There were immense cliffs along the coast."

Boy of thirteen: "There was the river beneath us and mountains all round us."

Girl of ten: "I saw some green fields."

Girl of twelve: "We saw the tide come rolling in and the great waves."

Girl of twelve: "There are tremendous high hills."

Girl of fourteen: "The country was very flat."

The fields and the chalk pits quoted in the above examples would not be included in the geographical text-book as physical features. They indicate, however, attention focussed on the earth's surface for its own sake.

Still anyone who carefully studied these papers would recognize that the larger landscape elements which form the data of physical geography receive only scant attention from these writers. It seems strange, for instance, that a boy over eleven years of age should write a narrative of travel in Switzerland and omit all description of mountain, glacier, and waterfall; or that another should tell of the ascent of Snowdon and say nothing of the view from the top. A girl of thirteen spent two months in Leipsic; another was in Holland for some time, but they do not mention the physical aspect of the country at all.

Yet these writers have had some geography teaching. Are the school and the world so completely shut off from each other in the child's mind that he does not even notice or recognize the things talked of in the school when he meets them outside? Or has the instruction had so little living content that the child's mind "having little to confer finds little to perceive?" At the beginning of this paper it was said that we can only observe along the lines of organized interests, or in other words we see only what experience has trained us to see. Where geography is entirely a matter of the text-book and map, the child will have little interest in the external aspects of any new district. Possibly the method of teaching geography by out-of-door observation and the school journey, carried on in German and Swiss schools and lately tried in various parts of England would have quite other results.

The next set of facts to be considered was classified under the heading, "Human Activity." Any text-book of geography gives much information that would come under this title, for the

study of geography is not merely the study of the crust of the earth and cognate phenomena. The earth is only one of the factors to be considered; the other is man himself, and the study of geography is an inquiry into the inter-action of man and his environment. Industries and commerce are the headings under which human activities, as determined by special environment, are discussed in the geography text-book. Together they form the data of economic geography, now beginning to receive so much attention among commercial peoples.

The evidence under this heading should tell us whether the children have more interest in industrial activities unfamiliar to them than they have in landscape features. The following are the statistics which express their interest in human activities:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	5%
Girls . . .	1%	4%	1%	4%	2%	1%	1%

According to these papers the children are little attracted by industrial activity. This is contrary to expectation, especially in regard to the boys. The results show indeed that the girls are less interested than the boys, and that the latter at the age of fourteen are more alive to how things get done than at any previous period. Here are some typical illustrations:

Boy of nine: "I saw the fishermen mending their nets."

Boy of eleven: "I saw the men cutting down the corn."

Boy of thirteen: "I went with my father to his business to an iron foundry where we saw the men making saws and files."

The greater number of activities noticed are those associated with agriculture and especially harvest operations,—reaping, gleaning, hop-picking and fruit-picking. Next in importance are industries connected with the sea,—pulling in crabs, fishing and arranging the sails in a sailing vessel. This is due apparently to the fact that most of the holiday experiences are in the summer and in the country, or at the seaside. The narratives of the foreign tours made by the children are interesting in this relation. Only two notice that the language spoken is different from their own, and there are only two or three whose records of the foreign

people and their ways are more detailed than are those of the others whose travel experience was on a less ambitious scale.

Not altogether alien to the interest associated with present human activities in any region, is that which is connected with the evidences of past human endeavour and aspiration. A battle-field, a ruined castle, an old abbey is sure to find notice in the pages of the guide-book of the district; and the tourist will dutifully proceed thither as a matter of course, however slight may be his historic or antiquarian interest.

The following table shows the percentages of statements dealing with historic interests:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	1%	1%	2%	1%	4%	1%	5%
Girls . . .	0%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%

According to this table, the historical interest follows much the same order of development as that in "human activity." It is slight in both sexes until the age of fourteen and then with the boys there is an increase. Examples are:

Boy of nine: "We saw a piece of wall 2,000 years old."

Boy of ten: "We saw the tombs of Lord Nelson and the Duke of Wellington."

Boy of thirteen: "It was very nice to see inside the old castles and prisons."

Boy of thirteen: "We saw an old Roman castle. I broke off a piece of a wall and brought it home for a curiosity."

Girl of twelve: "We saw the old beds of the Kings and Queens."

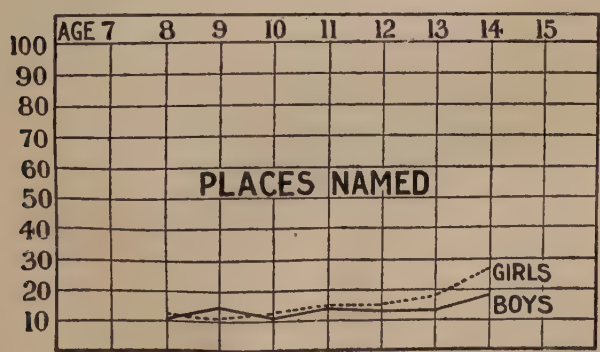
We have here, apparently, only the recognition of time long past, and the association of some historic person with place. It is fact lore simply, with no suffusing of the fact with thought and feeling, so that it becomes human. It bears the same relation to the later developed historic sense of the adult of education and imagination that the bald statement of some tragic incident in an old monkish chronicle does to the same circumstance recorded in the picturesque narrative of Macaulay or Froude.

I gave to 150 women students in training to be teachers the following question: "In what parts of the data of geography are you primarily interested, in the scenery and physical aspects of a country, or in the people, their pursuits, etc., or in historical geography?" Thirty per cent. replied that scenery and the physical aspects of a country interested them chiefly; 10 per cent. preferred historical geography; and to 47 per cent. the people, their customs, pursuits, etc., appealed most strongly. The remainder, 13 per cent. of the whole number, said either that their interests were impartial or that they did not care at all for geography. The human interest, according to these statistics is the chief incentive to curiosity about other regions. This is most probably true with regard to the children, also, though in this study the human interest is mainly concentrated on themselves.

We have next to consider what light our study throws on that view of geography which is contained in the definition, "geography is the study of space relations." Can we discover from it what interest children have in place nomenclature and in ideas of distance and direction?

The following table and chart show the proportion of statements in these travel records that name particular places:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	11%	15%	11%	14%	13%	14%	18%
Girls . . .	11%	12%	12%	14%	14%	19%	26%



These numbers are higher than any of those which express interest in "landscape features," "human activity," or "historical

associations." The line does not vary much until the age of fourteen with the boys, and thirteen with the girls, and then it decidedly ascends. It is the younger children as a rule who omit place names in their narrative and say vaguely, "I went one day to the country;" or "One journey that I made I liked very much." In a calculation based on the average number of statements made by the boys of eleven years and by those of twelve years it was found that the average number of places mentioned on each paper was two.

As a necessary preliminary, the writers mention whither they are bound, and then the desire to catalogue all the successive stages of the experience involves the mention of other names. On the longer train journeys a change of trains is often necessitated, and there is often a transfer from train to steamboat. Many give with punctilious exactness the place where these changes are effected, *e. g.:*

Boy of nine: "We went from London to Southampton by train, and from Southampton to Jersey by sea."

Boy of nine: "We went to Portsmouth by rail, then we got into a steamboat and crossed to Ventnor."

Boy of eleven: "I went to Yarmouth."

Boy of thirteen: "We arrived at Carlisle where we had to change for Aberdeen."

Girl of ten: "We went to different places in my holiday, Faversham, Herne Bay, Canterbury and Tunbridge Wells."

According to the testimony of these papers, the child, boy or girl, has a ready memory for names that have been associated by personal experience with the place itself. In some cases, the record gives an account of a travel experience dating back two or three years, and exact details of time or place which the developed adult would have forgotten, are remembered and described.

Possibly, it is this ready memory for names that produces the worst kind of geography teaching, that which consists in giving lists of names methodically tabulated under headings and sub-headings, but without logical connection. A knowledge of space relations with accompanying nomenclature is to geography what dates are to history, a necessary framework in which to put ideas richer in content. Children in the primary school are too

often, however, the victims of the same drill and wearisome iteration of words in the geography lesson as in the spelling, reading and other parts of the formal instruction.

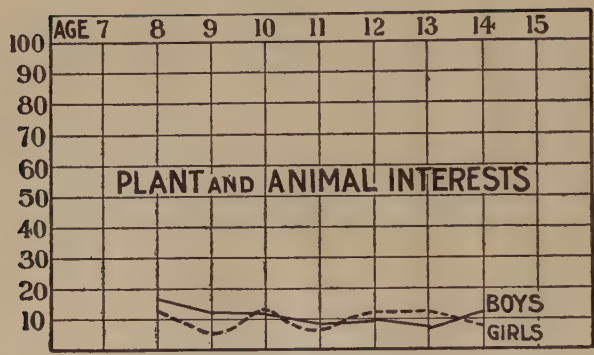
We turn now to "distance" and "direction," two forms of space relation that occupy much attention in the geography lesson. "Liverpool lies northwest of London;" "Edinburgh is 400 miles from London," are examples of facts prominent in the text-book. In the children's accounts of their journeys there is no evidence of any sense of direction. Only one writer, a boy, mentions any of the points of the compass, specifying that he was going south. Chronological sequence in the travel record is the general method of indicating direction, *e. g.*, in a journey from Brighton to London, "We came to Croydon and after to London."

In dealing with distance the younger children use vague terms, *e. g.*, "It was a very long way," "We seemed to be a long time getting there." The elder children, especially the boys, often give the exact distance in miles; but as a rule, even with them, distance is expressed in terms of time, *e. g.*, "Liverpool is 4 1-2 hours' ride from London." The following are the percentages:

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%	4%	5%
Girls . . .	8%	1%	2%	3%	4%	5%	4%

The last point to be considered in our discussion of the evidence in these papers has reference to the biological side of geography. No comprehensive account of any region of the earth would omit reference to its characteristic flora and fauna, and every text-book includes chapters or paragraphs dealing with these parts of the subject. Hence the interest shown in plants and animals in these travel records will have bearing on the geographical instruction. According to our quantitative results, the interest shown by the children in plant and animal life is greater than in landscape features.

Ages . .	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.
Boys . . .	17%	12%	11%	9%	10%	8%	12%
Girls . . .	11%	8%	12%	8%	11%	11%	8%



These results do not help us much to understand the relative interest at different periods of the child's life in plants and animals. Illustrative examples of the way in which it is expressed are:

Boy of nine: "I found a crab; it tried to pinch me but I threw it into the sea again."

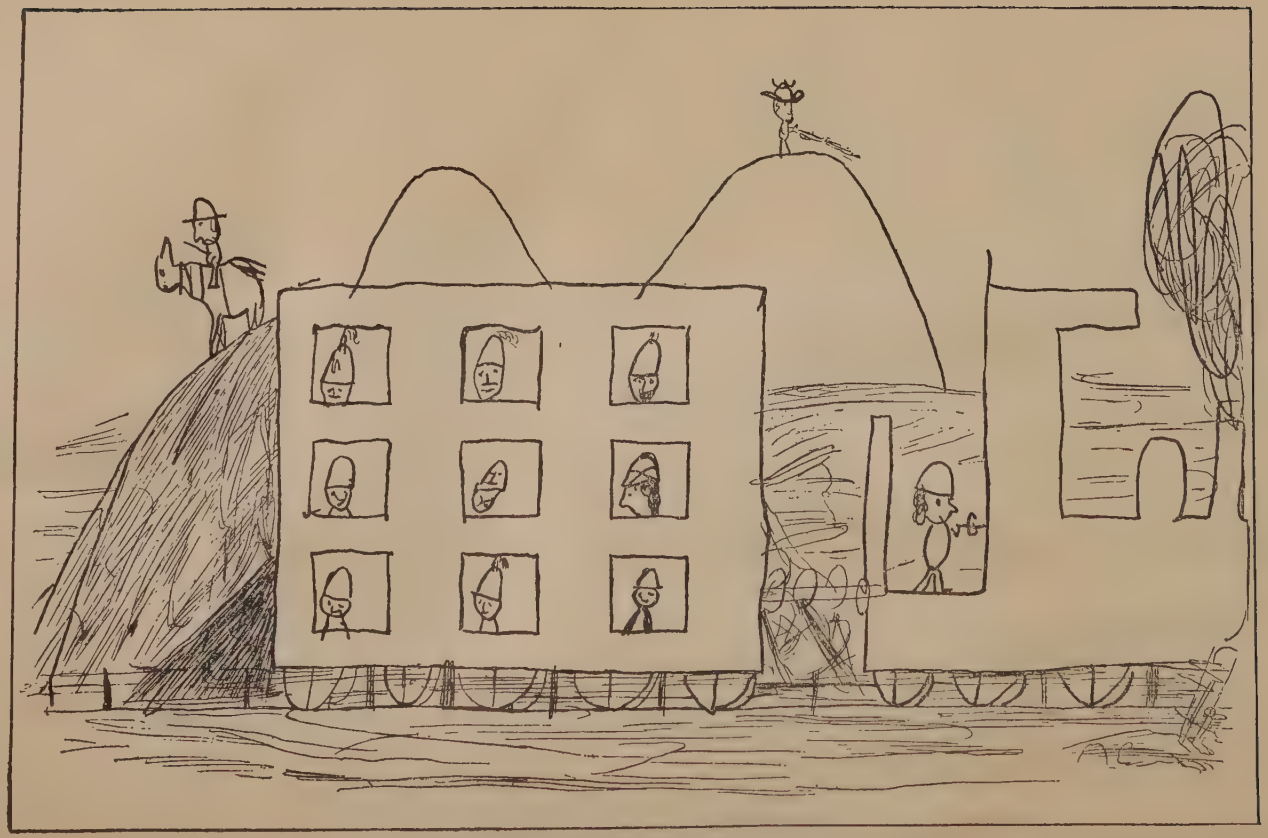
Boy of eleven: "We pulled up a lot of ferns."

Girl of thirteen: "We saw poppies in the corn."

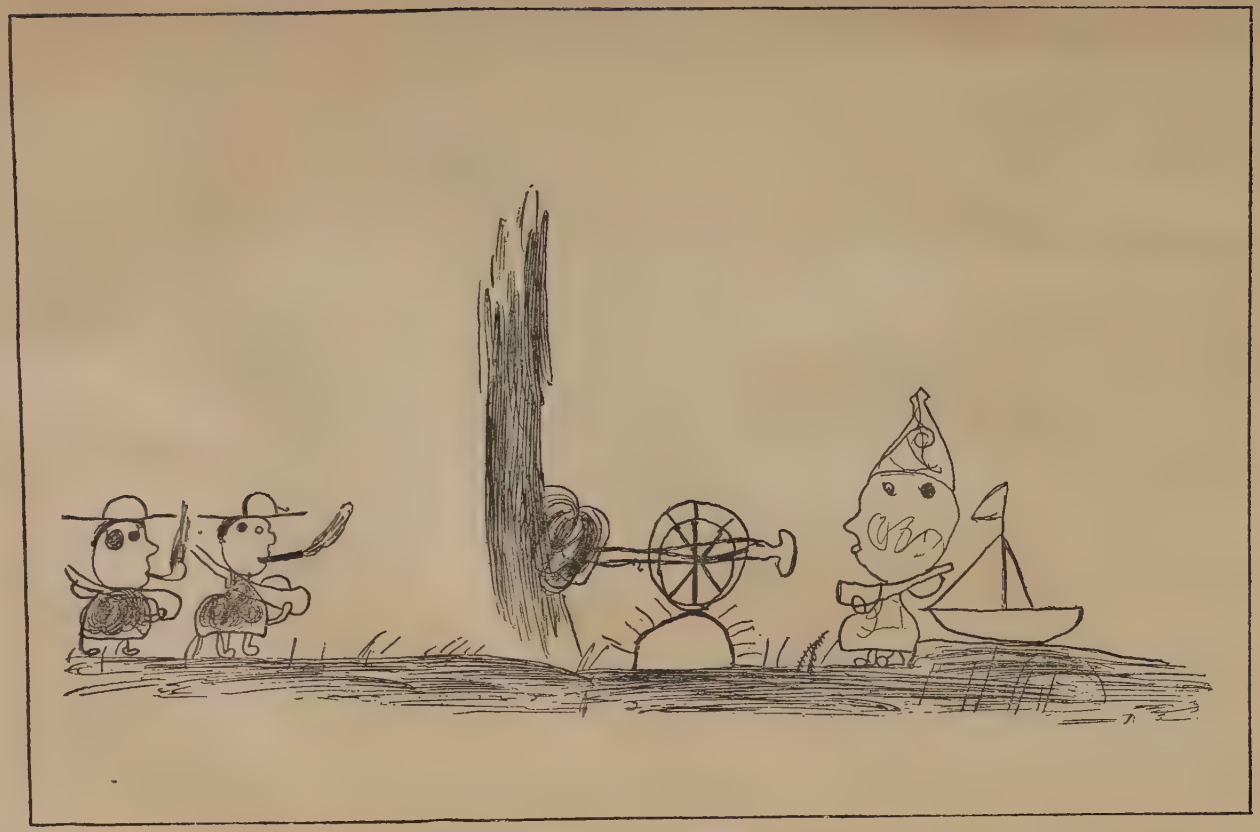
Boy of nine: "It was a beautiful scene to see the horses run away when the train glided past them."

Too much of the prevalent geography teaching on its biological side is extremely bald and meagre consisting mainly of a list of the animal and vegetable products of any particular region. Yet our results show that children are more observant of plants and animals than of any other of the external features in the area covered by their travel records. It would seem that the earlier geographical instruction should cover matters not generally included in its scope; for example, the appearance and manner of cultivation of foreign plants; the habits and mode of life of characteristic animals; and the economic value of both. It is in the cities, too, where there is difficulty experienced in studying the natural appearances of the earth that the facilities are greatest for first-hand acquaintance with the biological side of geography. Zoological and botanical gardens and museums all furnish abundant materials for this purpose, and by their means, geographical study in harmony with the child's own interests can be carried on under excellent conditions.

The analysis of the evidence ends here. To sum it all up, we should say that the child's interest in any travel experience centers primarily in what he does rather than in what he sees. In so far as his outlook is disinterested, he is attracted chiefly by plant and animal life, to a less degree by landscape features, last of all by human activity, other than his own, and by historic association. He remembers place names well, but is vague in his expression of distance, and does not use the geographical text-book terminology at all in describing direction. The moral seems to be that there needs to be a more systematically directed outward gaze. If the children were trained to observe more, they would see more, and have a richer basis of sense experience for the interpretation of the formulæ of the text-book and atlas. Especially, if these directed observations be of the character that is in harmony with the child's natural interests at any stage will the results be likely to be fruitful.



AN ARMORED TRAIN IN SOUTH AFRICA.



DEFENCE OF LADYSMITH.

STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. VIII.

More War Pictures.

In the first issue of this series we gave a picture of the South African War, drawn by an English boy. This month we give two more,—the Siege of Ladysmith, drawn by a boy of seven, and an Armored Train, drawn by a boy of eight. In both pictures the children have seized on the most striking elements in the war news of the day, armored trains, steep kopjes, beleaguered cities, General White, transports, and smoking Boers as the material from which to construct their pictorial compositions.

The pictures illustrate once more the curious combination of conventional signs and realistic representation that marks all of a child's expressions. In the Defence of Ladysmith the smudgy vertical lines answer for fortifications about the city, and remind one of a Chinese theatre, where a stick laid between two chairs represents the boundary of the kingdom. The conventional little ship has brought men like General White over seas; he stands for the garrison of Ladysmith, while the two smoking Boers stand for the enemy. Again, one is reminded of the Chinese theatre, where one sees two men with riding whips representing two rival regiments of cavalry.

In other respects details are over emphasized or even created. Thus each man has a gun, even the general, who seems to be responsible for the firing cannon; the general's helmet is carefully ornamented, and each man has two eyes, though his face is drawn in profile. This superabundance of eyes is due to the fact that the boy is in the transition stage between full face and profile (see page 169). It is interesting to note that the front eye is, in every case, less strongly drawn than the other, and one wonders whether the boy did not question its legitimacy when he drew it. In the next picture he draws, the superfluous eye will probably disappear. As we said last month, natural transitions are not very difficult for children.

In the picture of the train the two striking factors, armor and kopje, are very strongly brought out. The kopjes are steep little hills, so steep that neither horse nor man could get up or

down, and yet in emphasizing this feature of the kopje the child was true to the natural mode of his thought. When he gains a new feeling, impression or fact, he tends to express it at once before he has time to carefully relate it to all his earlier experience. This gives absurd and one-sided expressions, but it also gives mastery of the detail in question, and the adjustment comes later.

In both pictures the Englishmen, even the engine driver, have helmets and the Boers have broad-brimmed hats. In this transition period, when narrative representation and hieroglyphic signs are so blended, we often find a child clinging to a form of hat or a pipe with great tenacity. It is the same unreasoning, conservative impulse that makes the English-speaking people cling to an unnecessary "l" in traveller or to "programme" when "program" would do better.

CHILDREN'S STORIES AND POETRY. IX.

Children's Humor.

"The funniest thing I ever saw was two boys wrestling in a boat and they lost their balance and fell into the water over their heads with their clothes on."

By a boy twelve years old.

"The most laughable thing I ever read about was Benjamin Franklin walking through Philadelphia with a loaf of bread under each arm munching the third."

By a boy ten years old.

"The most laughable thing that I ever saw was a man with a weel barrel full of papers and he sat down on them and a horse man lit them with a match, and it burnt the man and so he got up and ask the man who did it and the man said that pleasman over there and he got a broom and went over and noked the pleaseman down and beat him."

By a boy twelve years old.

"The most laughable sight I have ever seen is the procession at Eastham which was in aid of the war fund. There were soldiers dressed in khaki some were supposed to be wounded and nurses were there to attend to them. There was one man there who represent Oom Paul Kruger he was rather an old man and he was sitting in a wooden cage. There were many other laughable sights also which are too numerous to mention."

By a boy eleven years old.

"The most funny and most laughable thing I have ever seen is a bear playing a trumpet. When the bear's master told it to play it, at first it would not. Then the master would beat the bear with his stick. Then when the master would not want the bear to play the trumpet he would. Then the master took the trumpet away from the bear, and when the master went to walk away a clown come and stood behind the bear and gave him a whistle, then the bear blew the whistle and so the master come back again and took the whistle away from the bear. Then the

clown whistle himself and caused the master to come back again, and searched the bear but know whistle was to be seen any where. Then the master saw the clown and beat him well. Of cause this was a well trained bear and knew how to act very well."

By a girl ten years old.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

In a fairly wide observation of children, I have been greatly impressed with the fact that what they consider very funny often appeals to the adult as mere noisy silliness. This has led me to inquire what children accept as humorous, and the papers cited above were written in America and England in answer to my questions on the subject.

Of course, in selecting representative papers one may easily misrepresent the real proportions of a problem,—and yet the papers quoted seem fairly average. Any one who glances over them must be impressed with the fact that the children look upon the discomfort of others as very funny. The people involved are generally their enemies, or at least some one whom they do not care about, and the interest and humor center in the uncomfortable predicament in which they find themselves.

In an examination of a considerable number of papers describing humorous incidents written by children in London elementary schools 74 per cent. of them were found to deal with the pain or discomfort of some one else. They range from a brutal enjoyment of real suffering, caused by cruelty or infirmity, to amusement at the ridiculous appearance of a clown falling off a horse. One is strongly reminded of the king's jester of the middle ages, on whom the whole court was free to crack its jokes.

I believe the explanation of this sort of humor must be found in the desire for self-aggrandizement. One can realize his own importance by elevating himself, or by belittling his surroundings. In the presence of a mishap to another, providing it does not rise to the tragic point, we feel ourselves glow with self-satisfaction; and, if we are sufficiently undeveloped, we may chuckle with a sense of our own superiority and security. This is the stage when the practical joke, a very childish form of humor, flourishes.

In the second place, the children are pleased with things so far out of place that their juxtaposition seems absurd. A monkey carrying a baby; a boy in girl's clothes, or a laborer in a silk hat seem endlessly funny. Here the pleasure is evidently due to the exercise of the mind in unaccustomed channels, and wit lies a little way ahead.

TYPE STUDY ON IDEALS. IX.

Infants and Adults.

In our last issue we called attention to the fact that in our present studies we were presenting only the short period of growth represented by the children in the elementary schools. This issue seeks to supplement the earlier studies with some fragmentary returns from younger children and also from adults. Miss Jennie B. Merrill, Supervisor of Kindergartens in New York, and Miss S. E. Eldridge, of Montclair, N. J., have collected replies to our question on ideals from Kindergarten children, representing 100 boys and 100 girls six years old and 100 boys and 100 girls four or five years old. This gives us 400 children under the age of seven. The answers were written down by the kindergarteners, after personally questioning each child, and they are as trustworthy as such returns can be made.

The adults' papers were written by thirty-eight men and fifty-two women teachers in an institute in Hunterdon County, N. J. For such a study we ought to have a group of adults representing various lines of activity, but these papers will at least be suggestive.

If we now complete the important tables on pages 199-200 of these studies by adding the returns from these papers we have the following:

Acquaintance Ideals.

Ages	4 and 5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Adult.
Boys	68%	63%	51%	41%	35%	27%	23%	17%	14%	8%
Girls	87%	84%	79%	66%	58%	43%	38%	37%	21%	33%

Public Characters Ideals.

Ages	4 and 5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Adult.
Boys	9%	18%	24%	32%	49%	59%	59%	68%	69%	92%
Girls	2%	7%	15%	14%	24%	33%	39%	47%	52%	67%

Opposite Sex Chosen.

Ages	4 and 5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	Adult.
Boys	31%	7%	3%	7%	12%	6%	5%	2%	6%	0%
Girls	5%	8%	26%	30%	31%	36%	45%	41%	40%	50%

On the whole, the new data simply extend our generalizations already established for the elementary school ages. As we go back to the younger children we get more and more acquaintance ideals, and characters in public life are decreasingly chosen. We should know that this must be true, and the acquaintances would appear even more strongly than they do did not a considerable number of the children fail to answer the question. This is emphasized by the public character ideal which drops almost to the vanishing point with the little children. The characters in public life chosen are: Dewey, 1; Roosevelt, 1; Lincoln, 2; McKinley, 2; Longfellow, 1; and the rest are Washington.

The men continue the lines established by the elementary boys both with the acquaintances and the public characters. The women show a reversion to acquaintance ideals. I expected that with the passing of youthful ambitions, and the extending of the range of personal relations, both men and women would return increasingly to acquaintance ideals. We need more representative data for this part of the study.

The tendency to choose an ideal of the opposite sex from the writer is very strong with the little boys, who choose their mothers, teachers and aunts, but the tendency disappears with the men. Ninety-five per cent. of the little girls are content to be like girls or women, but discontent, or at least a desire to be like men, grows steadily into the period of womanhood.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF CHILD STUDY IN AMERICA.

The attempt to trace the development of mind through the study of children is an inevitable part of the scientific movement of modern times. So thoroughly does the scientific spirit dominate thoughtful men and women that it will not let them rest until they have examined, labeled and grouped everything in the world. Even then we cannot stop until we have discovered the relations existing between our groups; and this compels us to trace each thing in the world back to its simplest antecedents.

Astronomy has labeled and grouped the bodies that fill our known universe; and now through spectrum analysis we are reducing the most distant bodies we know to the same elements that compose the material objects around us. Chemistry and physics have reduced our world of matter and force to the same orderly sequences and simple constituents. Biology is doing the same service in the field of organic life. We are forced by the spirit of the times to carry the same methods into the subjective world; and to-day the phenomena of feeling and thought, of morals and worship are being examined, classified and reduced to their simplest terms. To reach these simplest terms we must trace the complex manifestations of highly developed adult minds, to which we formerly limited our study, back to the simplest functions which we can discover in low grade intelligences. Some of the phenomena necessary for such a study can be found in the animal world; others in the history of mankind; still others in primitive races, or in imbeciles or in other undeveloped groups,—all can be found in children.

If children had been no more valuable than earth-worms, we should have gone steadily about our study and should have built up knowledge concerning their development comparable in extent and accuracy at least to that which Darwin gathered on earth-worms. But with children, as in the fields of economic or of religious inquiry, the vested interests have been so great, that instead of the slow and steady growth normal to science, we have had outbursts of interest, opposed by massed prejudices, and fol-

lowed by reactions of apathy or of positive aversion. Such reactions inevitably follow emotional movements. If ten thousand men rush out to a new and rich mining ground it takes no prophet to foretell that the nine thousand who went out because they caught the gold-fever will wearily struggle back home and spend their remaining days denouncing mining.

It is now a little more than twenty years since Dr. G. Stanley Hall began printing the outlines and pamphlets which started the systematic study of childhood in America. For ten years the progress was slow, but with the founding of Clark University young men were trained and sent out to important educational positions where they became leaders in child-study work. The establishment of the Pedagogical Seminary and the summer courses of lectures at Clark University gave wide currency to child-study ideas, and experiment stations sprang up all over our country.

The existence of organized bodies of educational workers, and their need for exact knowledge, led to propagandist efforts which quickly ran far ahead of knowledge. State societies sprang up from South Carolina to California, the most important being the one in Illinois. In 1893, a national society was projected and a Child Study Section of the National Educational Association was formed. The teachers of the country became possessed of the vague feeling that great things were impending; and like the mob attracted by the gold discovery, instead of preparing to dig they prepared themselves to enjoy the output. Outlines of study and syllabi of directions were scattered over the country; reputations blossomed over night; and at the Denver meeting of the National Educational Association we had five thousand people present for two days in the child-study section. Educational agitators identified themselves with the movement; and, having nothing to say, they discredited it. Those who had simply been swept along by the excitement became quickly weary and returned disgusted to their original philosophical or makeshift modes of thought. The consequence of this desertion of camp followers was a reaction which, however, was more apparent than real.

I say apparent rather than real because the conditions actually prevailing in America to-day are full of hope for those who

believe in the creation of a body of useful science based on the study of children. The men and women who seriously identified themselves with the movement between 1880 and 1895 are still devoted to its service. The *Pedagogical Seminary*[1] has steadily won its way until its files are indispensable in any well appointed pedagogical library; the *Journal of Childhood and Adolescence*[2] has become a strong and helpful periodical; while studies of general interest find their way readily into the pages of the *Century* or the *Popular Science Monthly.*

The State Societies of New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin still exist and their work, if less noisy, is quite as serious and important as formerly.[3] The work of the Child Study Section of the National Educational Association necessarily suffered from the popular reaction three or four years ago, but recovery has already begun and the next program, under the presidency of Professor G. W. A. Luckey, promises well. The degree of interest in organizations cannot, in any case, be taken to represent the amount of interest in the subject. The leaders of the movement universally recognize that it was over-organized and that their best efforts should go to investigation and to creative work rather than to organizing public opinion.

In the institutions of higher learning, where teachers' courses are given, we universally find courses of lectures or demonstrations, or both, on child study. The subject is generally treated in connection with animal psychology and anthropology, and appears under the title of genetic psychology, but child study furnishes the principal content for such courses. In many of the progressive normal schools, such as Worcester, Westfield, Trenton, West Chester, Fitchburg, Duluth, Moorehead, Mankato, or California, Pa., child study continues to furnish an increasingly important part of the professional training.

Bibliographies of child study[4] show a falling off in the num-

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1 *The Pedagogical Seminary.* Edited by G. Stanley Hall. Worcester, Mass. Louis N. Wilson, Publisher.

2 *The Journal of Childhood and Adolescence.* Edited and published by Albert H. Yoder. Seattle, Washington.

3 See especially *Report of the Proceedings of the New Jersey Association for the Study of Children and Youth.* December 7, 1901. Edited by Wm. E. Chancellor; also the reports of the Illinois Society.

4 See *Bibliography of Child Study.* By Louis N. Wilson, In the files of the Pedagogical Seminary. *Bibliography of Child Study.* Published by the Pedagogical Library of the Board of Public Education. Philadelphia, 1901.

ber of books and articles printed from 1897 to 1901; but the last year marks a decided recovery. The popular interest in the subject is shown in the multiplication of magazine articles on children and in the success of such books as *Emma Lou,*[5] *The Madness of Philip,*[6] and *In the Morning Glow.*[7] It is true that no very important works attempting a philosophic synthesis of what has so far been done have appeared, but this is as it should be. The study is still in its monographic period; and the work now being done by such students as Professor and Mrs. Gale, of Minnesota University,[8] or in these STUDIES, marks a decided advance over the similar work of ten years ago. As we have said, the complaint that someone does not gather up the results of studies so far made and give them to parents and teachers in available form, shows inability to understand the significance of the present movement. With the creation of a body of knowledge concerning the subjective growth of human beings "Manuals of Education" will disappear. They will be shipped to the less intelligent parts of the country to be sold with old copies of "Every Man His Own Lawyer," and "The Universal Family Physician." No real science, covering an important field of life, can be put into a manual. The fact that the important educational books are increasingly dealing with school hygiene, the development of the historical sense, and similar special fields, is full of hope for those who believe in the creation of a science of education.

If, however, one looks for definite influences exerted by the new lines of study he finds them on every side. Present day books on the care and culture of infancy, by such physicians as Holt[9] and Griffith,[10] rest on absolute knowledge and enable an intelligent mother to care for her infant in all the details of food, clothes, exercise and discipline, so as to conserve and develop its powers to a degree never before possible.

Under the influence of such ideas as those presented by Dr.

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[5] *Emma Lou.* By Mrs. Martin. McClure, Phillips & Co. 1902.

[6] *The Madness of Philip.* By Josephine Dodge Daskam. McClure, Phillips & Co. 1902.

[7] *The Morning Glow.* By Roy Rolfe Gibson. Harper and Brothers. 1902.

[8] *Early Reasoning of Children.* By M. C. and H. Gale. In *Journal of Childhood and Adolescence,* July, 1902.

[9] *Care and Feeding of Children.* By L. E. Holt. Appleton, 1900.

[10] *The Care of the Baby.* By J. P. Crozer Griffith. W. B. Saunders & Co. Philadelphia, 1901.

and Mrs. Burk,[11] our kindergarten practice is being steadily modernized and brought into still more intimate touch with the needs of real children. The discovery and statement of the fact that muscular development is from central muscle masses outward to peripheral muscles has transformed our educational exercises for little children.

In the field of hygiene, hundreds of students have contributed a mass of knowledge which has transformed our school buildings. Lighting, ventilation and seating receive attention, even in our backward communities, which ten years ago would not have been given in our most advanced educational centers. Studies on fatigue have greatly modified our arrangement of the curriculum; and in our large cities the medical expert is increasingly brought into the service of the boards of education.

In our treatment of defective classes, wonderful advances have been made through the direct study of children, individually and in groups. In London, backward children are separated from the general classes and taught in special schools by teachers trained for that particular work. It is significant that here, as everywhere else, the more we study our children the better work we do, and the better work we do the more we learn about our children. Probably no other child has ever had so much study spent upon her as Helen Keller received; surely no child was ever better taught; and probably no other child has ever taught us so much about subjective growth.

The study of criminal children has led us to see that methods successful with adults would not work with them. Juvenile courts, many varieties of homes and George Junior Republics have all grown out of the direct study of so-called youthful criminals. Here again, the study of special cases has thrown great light upon the treatment of normal children.

Even the Sunday-school has felt the influence of these direct studies. Here and there, efforts are being made to carry into effect the results of the studies made by Starbuck, Dawson, Hall and Ellis,[12] and when the attempt is made new life and strength follow.

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11 *A Study of the Kindergarten Problem.* By Frederick and Caroline Frear Burk. Whittaker & Ray Company. San Francisco, 1899.

12 See pp. 283–307 in these STUDIES.

But what has been done is, after all, but the merest beginning of the work to be done in studying children. Our best work so far has naturally been devoted to the study of physical conditions, because the phenomena are less involved than in subjective processes; the knowledge of the body and of the special senses has an immediate value easily recognized by any one; and the trained physiologists and physicians were better prepared to do their work than were the psychologists and sociologists.

The period of infancy has received far more than its fair amount of attention; and the only other period which has been much studied is the period of early adolescence, say from twelve to sixteen. The period from five to twelve has been but slightly studied; the period after sixteen hardly at all.

Because of the greater convenience in gathering material, most of our work so far has been upon groups of children examined only once. Even the studies on individual infants have rarely been continued after the children became five years old. We need now careful records kept by scientific observers which will continue lines of investigation with the same child, and the same groups of children, from birth to maturity.

For purposes of method we need careful records of results achieved in teaching different subjects in different ways. We know to-day that geography should not begin with the spheres and work back to the crib; but we also know that if it begins with the crib it ought not to work steadily out to the spheres. What is the proper blending of synthetic and analytic work in this subject? What parts of the subject matter of geography, necessary for adult life or good for discipline, can a child best use at different stages of his development? These are questions to be answered by studying children and in no other way. Each subject of the curriculum needs to have similar careful and exhaustive studies made to determine its vexed questions. Is anything gained by beginning number work before a child is nine years old? What is the real relation of the forms in reading to the thought? How can the children master the forms without becoming deadened to the content? How can their interest in content be used to lead them most economically to master the forms? Study of children can alone answer these questions. If children thought and felt as adults do, then an adult might hope to

answer such questions by introspection, and by reasoning,—but his childish thoughts are so far behind him that to recover them he must go back sympathetically to children and watch them while they think as children.

All the educational problems of the day must ultimately be settled from a study of the facts in the case, and these facts always gather about children. For instance, the troublesome problem of co-education must be settled in the long run, not on a basis of prejudice, but on a basis of fact. Do boys and girls have different ranges of interests? If so, what is characteristic of each? Can a single school effectively meet the needs of both sexes? Can girls follow the regular curriculum of boys' schools without physical deterioration? What are the social and moral effects of separate education? Of co-education? These are the questions we need to answer if we are to deal intelligently with the problem; and our country furnishes an almost perfect experiment station for working out the answers. Our localized control of the details of education gives us endless varieties of solution for such a problem as co-education; and, at the same time, our theories of life and education are so similar in the various states of the Union that comparisons are easy to make. Through our city and state reports, through articles in the educational press, and still more through the annual reports of our Commissioner of Education at Washington, some details of the experiments we are making are preserved and made available for study. Such details are, however, too often gathered by partisans who seek to support a cause and who are not actuated primarily by a desire to see the truth. We need to-day a clearing house for educational facts, where material on co-education, science vs. the humanities, the education of subject-people, the segregation of rural schools, experience in using various forms of instruction in reading, drawing, music, and the like, can be brought together, and arranged for study. It is time that the settlement of such problems should be taken out of the hands of rival publishing houses, and rival parties and sects, and settled by a direct appeal to the facts brought out by a study of developing children. To get such results we must have honest scientific students; a central clearing house, such as the Bureau of Education, at Washington, could be made with proper financial support, and continuous records

dealing with the same children and the same range of facts during several years.

The estimated value of the public school property of the United States is over $524,000,000, and we have nearly half a million employes engaged in teaching our young. In any other business representing such a capital we should have hundreds of trained experts gathering exact knowledge on which to base action. Germany has 5,000 trained chemists acting as experts in her factories; England has but half as many, and so Germany is crowding England for the control of many of the world's markets. When one must act, knowledge is power. We recognize this fact in our manufactories; and the national and state governments recognize it in their support of agricultural experiment stations, and in their support of research in many other lines. It is strange that with our business sagacity we have not recognized the necessity of furnishing expert knowledge if we wish to make our educational investment fully productive. It is certainly true that to-day we have in America more trained experts working on electricity than on education, and the general government pays more attention to the study of fungi and codfish than it does to the study of its children.

Some critic is sure to reply that we do furnish this expert guidance in our superintendents and supervisors, and that normal schools correspond with agricultural experiment stations. The superintendents and supervisors are often highly educated and able men and women, and many of them in their free time are making studies on their children. They are, however, legally and by tradition, executive and advisory officers; they are like the overseers in the factories, and the necessity for constant executive action breeds in both cases an attitude of mind opposed to investigation. In the factory we supplement the overseer by an expert working in a specially-fitted laboratory and dealing with exact knowledge, which the overseer carries into effect. In education we cut and try, and often we try to introduce a line of work which has been proved ineffective in the experience of our neighbors and which investigation would have shown to be impracticable in advance.

That normal schools do not correspond with agricultural experiment stations is apparent to any one who has lived and

worked in them. Nowhere else in the world can one find institutions imparting knowledge with such a stamp of certainty and finality upon it as is given in nine-tenths of our state normal schools.

The reasons for this condition of things are not far to seek. In the first place the tradition of education is still theological and philosophical. Up to the present time teachers have been a lesser clergy, possessed of an attitude of mind that feared and could not understand the continuous revelations of God in the successive generations of men. To-day we have lost our old clerical connection and tradition and we have become a nondescript body which shows possibilities of becoming a beaurocracy like the post-office department, but which may, if it will recognize its responsibilities and possibilities, become a profession like medicine or engineering. The future of civilization hangs in the balance.

This changed attitude of mind we so much need is difficult to get because up to the present time teachers have not believed in the law-abidingness of life. In each field that the scientific spirit has invaded and conquered the same condition prevailed at first. For centuries past it would have been considered impious to imagine that some day the lightning would be understood in large measure; that the laws of its action would be determined and that it would be made to light our houses and draw our cars at our bidding. In astronomy, chemistry, and biology science has been not only confronted but combatted by the feeling that their laws could not be known and that if they did exist and could be known it would dim the glory of a miracle-working Providence and lessen life's worth to men. But one after another of these fields has yielded to the persistent questioning of earnest and honest students. Methods of inquiry have been modified or changed; hypotheses have been disproved and new ones substituted, but steadily the work has gone on. Neither the glory of God nor the charm of existence has suffered loss; instead, all existence has received a new glory and charm.

The other great difficulty in building up a body of professional knowledge is due to the fact that those involved in teaching are, so many of them, only temporarily engaged in the calling. If the medical profession were largely composed of men and women who intended to remain in it only two or three years it

would be much more difficult than it now is to advance medical knowledge, not only because there would be fewer students and investigators but still more because there would be no large and effective group to carry new discoveries into effect. The fact that many appreciative and eager co-students are ready to carry new discoveries into effect greatly stimulates investigation. The floating masses of transient teachers who have their most ardent interest set on the thing they are to do after finishing teaching neither discover new truths nor stimulate their leaders to discovery. This condition is being slowly improved through the changed requirements for teacher's licenses. When we require of all teachers professional knowledge which represents two to four years of special training no one will prepare for the license with the intention of using teaching as a stepping-stone to something else. Critics often say we have not money enough to employ professionally trained teachers. The world is full of wealth; the navy of any nation would equip and maintain decent schools for years. But we must become worthy of our hire before we demand it, and then we shall find it waiting. Medical skill finds its rewards ready when it perfects its knowledge; so will educational skill.

In the meantime, among the younger generation of school men there is everywhere a tendency to abandon the methods of exhortation and assertion, to which, as historical descendants of the clergy we have clung so tenaciously, and to seek a basis for theory and practice in definite knowledge. We are slowly, but surely, abandoning the methods of the clergy for those of the physicians. This transformation will be finally accomplished, if it is accomplished, through the creation of a body of knowledge derived from the study of children.

THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY.

SARAH YOUNG.

Geography as a subject of school instruction has been the least regarded of the various parts of the school curriculum, the most vague as to content and delimitation of boundaries, the most poorly equipped in appliances, and the least exacting of skill and effort on the part of the teacher. Unwelcome experiences connected with the late war in South Africa, however, added to predictions of impending commercial decadence, have, in this country [England] stimulated interest in geographical science, and inquiry into geographical instruction. Hence intelligent geographical teaching is coming to be recognized as an affair of national importance, and not merely as a matter for academic discussion in teachers' conferences. The universities are bestowing more attention upon it, newspaper leading articles are considering it, and the Geographical Association has been formed in the interests of geographical science and improved geographical teaching. All this means that in the school curriculum of the "new education," geography shall have its own claims and its own methods which shall diverge considerably from those of the past.

Nevertheless, economic geography, however worthy the consideration of a nation of vast commercial interests, and strategic geography, however insistent in its call on the attention of a people with a world-wide empire to defend, are specialized and advanced parts of the subject. With these, this paper has nothing to do. Its theme is the teaching of the elements of geography. Hence, discussion will be restricted to such geographical ideas as can be compassed in the primary school period, and as can be imparted without reference to the vocational future of the learners.

The subjects of the investigation were one hundred and fifty London normal school girls, of an average age of from nineteen to twenty-one years, and all preparing to be teachers. There were two parts to the inquiry. The first was an analysis of the present mental condition of the subjects of the investigation in

certain aspects connected with the matter in hand; the second was retrospective in method, and required that those submitting to the test should recall geographical experiences of their childhood. Hence there were two groups of questions.

Those in the first group were:

1. What mental image have you answering to the following geographical names: Ceylon, the Rhone, Madrid, South America, Lake Geneva, Ural Mountains, Gibraltar?

2. In what direction according to the points of the compass would you walk if you were going from here to Holborn Town Hall, the Angel and the British Museum?

3. What distance in feet or yards is it across the road in front of the college building? to the station? What is the height of the college in front?

The questions in the second group were:

1. Were your early geographical ideas based on observation of any local features near the school?

2. Were you practiced during your early geographical instruction in taking measurement of the school playground or neighbourhood?

3. Were you familiarized with the terms "north," "south," "east," and "west" by determining the direction of places near the school?

4. Describe generally the methods and devices used in your geographical instruction as children.

5. Were you interested in any distant countries or places at any period of your childhood? What was the source of your interest? the experiences of friends who had been there, books, pictures, geography lessons, or any other source?

In more detail, the aim of the first group of questions was to test certain judgments based on what is seen, judgments that are necessarily used in the interpretation of phenomena that can only be imagined. I will now discuss each question in turn.

1. What mental image have you answering to the following geographical names: Ceylon, the Rhone, Madrid, South America, Lake Geneva, the Ural Mountains, Gibraltar? The names were not chosen at random. They are all passably familiar in these days of Cook's tourists and newspaper readers through the medium of advertisement, picture, or "letter from our foreign

correspondent." They are thus not exclusively associated with the schoolroom and school atlas. The realities they indicate are also variously represented on the map and it was thought that the arresting power of the different map symbols might be thus compared. In giving this question, each name was pronounced singly, and the mental reaction thus produced was written down by each listener at once. The following were the results:

Out of 150, 129 or 86 per cent., said that the name "Ceylon" called up the picture of a pear-shaped piece of colour at the bottom of the map of Hindustan. Some gave the exact colour. Some did not give the shape. The main consideration, however, is that so many had a mental image of the symbol instead of the thing itself in response to the stimulus of the name. Other answers were "a vague picture of tropical vegetation," "Palm trees," "Tea plantations," "Dark-skinned natives," "a packet of Ceylon tea," etc.

"The Rhone" suggested to 113, or 76 per cent., a wavy line in the map of France. Some added more exact details, e. g., "a cyclostyled map that I used to study from;" "a map the teacher drew on the blackboard;" a generalised picture of a river was present to 24, or 16 per cent., as e. g., "flowing water between banks." Others, five, had an image of some characteristic of the Rhone itself., e. g., "muddy water in a delta," "blue water coming out of a lake," "two streams, blue and chalky, running side by side." To two, a picture of the word was called up, and the remainder, six, had no image distinct enough to be termed such, but some fact, e. g., "the Saone is a tributary of the Rhone," sprang into their minds in response to the name.

For "Madrid," fifty-one, or 33 per cent., saw the map of Spain or a coloured spot in the middle of the map of Spain. To thirty-five, or 24 per cent., the name called up the appearance of the printed word; nine recalled pictures or photographs of the place; to five the words and tune of a song, "Old Madrid" were the mental response; sixteen saw vaguely features common to any city, e. g., streets with people. To twenty-five, the name suggested a city with some special feature belonging to it, e. g., "streets with men and women with Spanish dress;" or "a city high above a plain." The remaining writers, nine, thought of some piece of information, e. g., "the climate of Madrid is hot and dry."

"South America" suggested the map to 121, or 80 per cent., of the writers. Many add details such as "coloured paper with patches of various colours," "coloured surface roughly triangular with the apex at the bottom," "a triangular coloured surface with mountain markings on the left-hand side." To four, pictures of tropical scenery were recalled; six saw the words "South America" or "Pampas," etc. The remainder either had vague mental images of "tropical forests," "savages," etc., or thought of some fact gleaned from their text-book or other source of information.

For "Lake Geneva," forty-six, or 30 per cent., had a mental image of a "crescent-shaped, blue-coloured patch on the map;" forty-seven recalled details of a well-known picture of the lake with the castle of Chillon in the foreground; forty-nine saw more or less vaguely, blue water and mountains. The remaining writers thought of Geneva watches, Calvin or something else associated with the name.

To 106, or 70 per cent., the name "Ural Mountains" called up a mental picture of "wavy markings on the right-hand side of the map of Europe;" as in previous cases, the map image was described with various detail. To 23, a more or less vaguely realised mental image of mountains was apparent, while four said that the mental response to the words was a picture of a huge wall stretching between Europe and Asia and acting as a barrier. The remainder, seventeen, either thought of minerals, cold climate, the Russian-Siberian railway, or saw only the appearance of the words as written, or printed.

For "Gibraltar" the map image was the response in the case of thirty-nine, or 26 per cent.; forty-eight recalled a well-known picture of a huge rock stretching into the sea with other details belonging to it; to forty-six the name suggested a mental image of some features of the reality. The remaining answers were miscellaneous: "Gibraltar was besieged by the Spanish," "Gibraltar is an outpost of the Mediterranean" are typical illustrations of how some mental judgment, rather than a mental image, was the response to the name stimulus.

What is the significance of all this? With each of these geographical names, some symbol and not the reality, was present in consciousness to the majority of these writers, when the name was pronounced. In two instances, "Lake Geneva," and "Gibral-

tar," the memory of a picture was equally potent with that of the map; with "Madrid," the visual word symbol was almost as frequently the response as the map. In each of the other instances, the image of the map was the chief mental reaction to the name stimulus.

All this is simply an illustration of what always happens when the mind is exposed to the action of sense stimuli of different degrees of compelling power. The strongest wins and persists. A dot on a coloured surface is obviously not so aggressive in its call on the attention as the coloured surface of more or less area, nor even so compelling as the crinkly lines that stand for rivers and mountains. On the other hand, a coloured chromographic or photographic representation of a scene is more attractive than the map, and hence, in the case of Lake Geneva and Gibraltar, the memory of a picture rivalled that of the map. Had the pictures been equally familiar to all the writers the statistics might have been even more conclusively in favour of the picture.

The map is an indispensable adjunct of geography teaching. No picture, however typical, can serve as its substitute. It is an abbreviated expression of a reality whose parts with their mutual relations can be represented to the eye in no other way. Its lines, markings, words, and colours each have meaning. But just as the mind responds automatically to the word "cat," "house," etc., by some image of the thing for which the word stands, so each symbol on the map ought to suggest the corresponding reality. If the mind of the geographical student does not go beyond the coloured piece of paper, the fatal error of all imperfect learning and teaching has been committed,—the substitution of the dead form for the living reality. A map hinders rather than helps, if instead of mental pictures of mountains, rivers and cities, there come to the mind caterpillar-like markings, crinkly lines and coloured dots. The world with its varied features and vast dimensions is shut up within the leaves of an atlas, and the geographical student's imaginative activities are shrunk to a like degree.

2. In what direction according to the points of the compass would you walk if you were going from here to Holborn Town Hall, the Angel and the British Museum?

These different buildings are all within a walk of half a

mile, or a mile from the college. This question was submitted only to those who were completely familiar with the surrounding district, about one hundred students in all. They were required to answer it in the class room, a few minutes being given for reflection but no opportunity for mutual assistance. Great exactness was not required in the answers; S., E., and S. W., being respectively accepted for the three places mentioned in the question.

The following results were obtained. Out of the hundred individuals tested, thirty-seven, or 24 per cent., gave the direction right for Holborn Town Hall, a building on the same road as the college and about half a mile further south; twenty-two, or 14 per cent., answered correctly with regard to the Angel, which lies east, at a distance of about half a mile; nineteen, or 12 per cent., were right as to the position of the British Museum, which is situated southwest at a distance of about a mile. Most of those who answered inaccurately went wildly astray. "West" for "south," or "south" for "east" are typical results.

Each writer was practically acquainted with the position of each of these buildings. She could, so to speak, find her way thither blindfold, and could give explicit counsels to the wayfarer, as "Keep straight on and take the first turning on the right," or "the third on the left," according as the case required. Directly, however, the writers were asked to use the terms, employed as a matter of course in describing the relative position of Brighton and London, or New York and Philadelphia, they were nonplussed.

Mr. Geikie notes how much it is a matter of daily experience, that educated people are unable to translate the terms "right-hand," and "left-hand" used in describing direction, into the terms, "north," "south," etc. The results above given, confirm his testimony. Yet in their own geographical study in the class-room, and in their teaching, these writers constantly indicate the relative position of places by the use of these terms. Obviously, "Brighton is south of London," to them, means "Brighton is nearer the bottom of the map than London."

If children were habitually required in the acquisition of their earlier geographical ideas, to connect the information given in the school-room with the realities about them, would the results be

different? Professor Dewey, in *The School and Society,* tells how, "When I was visiting in the city of Moline, a few years ago, the superintendent told me that they found many children every year who were surprised to learn that the Mississippi River in the text-book had anything to do with the stream of water flowing past their homes. The geography being simply a matter of the school-room, it is more or less of an awakening to many children to find that the whole thing is nothing but a more formal and definite statement of the facts which they see, feel and touch every day."

In the same way imperfect geographical teaching induces the pupils to restrict the terms, "north," "south," etc., to their text-book use. That these expressions are equally applicable to the district traversed daily in coming to school, or to the region of their summer outing does not occur to many children. But if they were accustomed to think of the school's being south of the church, or Tommy Smith's house being west of Dickey Brown's, "north" would not so often mean as it does, only the top of a map. "Newcastle is north of London," and similar familiar formulae might also come to have truer content when lodged in the pupil's mind.

How far such instruction might aid in developing a sense of direction that would guide us aright in unfamiliar localities, it is difficult to estimate. I put the following question to eighty of those who had replied to the one that has just been discussed: "If you were hopelessly lost in a wood, how would you try to find your bearings?" Only thirty-five suggested that they would note the position of the sun and compare it with the time of day as known or guessed. Most of the others hazarded such speculations as make one fearful of the results, if such accident should ever befall them.

3. What distance is it in feet or yards across the road in front of the college building? to the Metropolitan station? What is the height of the college building? The road is about eighty feet wide, the distance to the station one hundred yards, and the college is fifty feet high.

Twenty-six, or 18 per cent., estimated the distance across the road with fair accuracy; various guesses were given ranging from twelve feet to 150 feet. Forty-one, or 28 per cent., judged the

one hundred yards' distance with tolerable correctness. Answers were accepted that were not more than fifty feet out. Those rejected varied from eighteen feet to 600 yards. The height of the college was estimated to within ten feet of the exact measurement, by thirty-one, or 20 per cent., of the writers. Incorrect answers varied from eighteen to three hundred feet.

Of course the ideas we have of great numbers, magnitudes and distances are not reducible to clear mental pictures. The thousand miles' length of a river, or the millions' mass of a city of people transcend the limits of imagination. Still, such notions as we do have, psychologists say, are the obscurely realised results of mentally manipulating numbers, magnitudes and distances which are small enough to be perceptible to the senses, and which are thus capable of being reproduced as images. By piling in fancy eight or nine St. Paul's Cathedrals on one another, it is possible to give children who know the building, and who can reproduce it in memory, fuller content for the text-book formula, "the height of Snowden is 3,570 feet." If, then, we grant that our ideas of the magnitudes that geography deals with, are like other ideas, a synthesis of notions derived from experience, these latter should be as vivid and clear as possible. If one hundred yards can be pictured with fair accuracy, there is better hope of intelligent comprehension of map scales and proportions. With such a basis of accurate sense judgments, both the world known to sense perception and the world known to imagination, the near and the far, can be better understood.

This completes the discussion on the first group of questions and the first part of the inquiry. The conclusion is, that the majority of the subjects of the inquiry were unable to judge local distances and direction accurately, and to think instinctively of the reality which the map symbol represented. Is this typical of the mental attitude of the ordinary educated adult? In the second group of questions, 1, 2, 3 and 4 may be discussed together, since they all referred to the character of the geographical teaching the writers had had as children.

1. Were your early geographical ideas based on observation of any local features near the school?

To this, sixteen, or 10 per cent., replied that there had been some attempt to give meaning to such terms as "mountain,"

"river," etc., by directed observation of the topography of the neighbourhood. In most cases, however, the observations were casual and haphazard events, rather than part of a pre-determined plan, rigorously carried out.

2. Were you practised during your early geographical instruction in taking measurements of the school, play-ground, or neighourhood? Only four replied in the affirmative to this question, or about 2 per cent. of the writers.

3. Were you familiarized with the terms, "north," "south," "east," and "west" by determining the direction of places near the school? Again, only three, or 2 per cent. of the writers, had become acquainted with these ideas through directed experience.

4. Describe generally the methods and devices used in your geographical instruction as children.

To these questions 98, or 66 per cent., replied that the methods employed were of the most unenlightened order. Lists of proper names, lists of exports and imports, or pages in a text-book, were memorized, sometimes without any exposition, sometimes after discursive or sketchy remarks on the teacher's part. A map or atlas was generally used, but rarely pictures or objects. If a geographical reader were used, frequently, the chapter read would have no relation to the subject of the oral lesson. Various devices, such as repetition in unison in a chanting tone, or competition for marks, were employed as aids to the memory, and as compensation for lack of appeal to the eye and imagination, and for absence of exposition of logical relations. The following are illustrative examples:

1. "The names of capes, bays, counties, towns, were repeated in a high chanting note which never varied. If we tried a different tone, the names never came to us properly. Even now, I have to begin at the beginning of the list in order to find out, say, the capital town of a certain county."

2. "We had strings of names written on the black-board, and we repeated them until we were supposed to know them, but I never did."

3. "We used to learn out of a little paper-covered book without any reference to a map at all, or without seeing any. I remember learning the name 'Pyrenees' and wondering what they were."

4. "We were given a book and told to learn two or three pages."

5. "My only idea of the geographical terms, lake, isthmus, and the rest, was that they came in long, hard sentences, which had to be learned to satisfy the teacher or inspector."

6. "What a horror I had of definitions! My only idea of what they were was what was on the map. I never realised that a strait was anything but a blue-colored strip on a map."

7. "We learned lists of exports and imports and I did not even know what many of the foreign things were."

The writer of this paper has recollections of early geographical teaching on a par with those cited, though they antedate the other writers' reminiscences by many years. I went to a school of the antique kind where *Mangnall's Questions* and the *Child's Guide to Knowledge* were the chief media for knowledge acquisition. For geography, we had exercise books with each page ruled in two parallel divisions. In the left hand of these was the name of a town, gulf, river, island, etc.; in the right hand division was the name of the country, county, or other larger whole. The names were alphabetically arranged and I remember the list began: Aar, Switzerland; Aarburg, Denmark; Abbeville, France; etc. There were about a thousand names taken promiscuously from all parts of the globe. A page or so was memorized at home and repeated next day at school. The names were pointed out on a map, but without explanation that "Aar" stood for a river, "Abbeville" for a town, and without demonstration of their relative importance.

The result of this geography teaching and the absence of more intelligent methods probably persists to this day in lack of all capacity to estimate distance and in an equal absence of power of orientation. In addition, the mental response to a geographical name is the image of a map, except for those parts of the earth's surface where either travel, desultory reading, or later instruction has acted as a corrective. The utility of this knowledge is difficult to fathom unless the knowledge of the position of places might stand a candidate for post-office work in good stead, and yet this information sometimes passed for surprising erudition. Another result was the development of a two years' passion for poring over maps and learning the position of places. The

name never suggested a reality; the whole business was a more pleasing pastime than the active play to which a bookish child is sometimes constitutionally averse.

The facility with which children will memorize unorganized material during the more plastic period of their development and the eagerness which they often manifest for the acquisition of unconnected facts are the conditions which make such teaching as the above possible. The writers quote especially lists of exports and imports, and lists of names of capes and bays that were required to be learned by rote. To learn a number of disconnected words or names like either of these is, of course, a comparatively easy thing for a child to do. But to bring specimens of the raw product before the class,—to explain why it is produced in certain parts of the earth and not in others,—to show what makes certain places the best market for disposing of it, and what are the best means for transporting it thither, needs intelligence, research, the expenditure of time and effort on the teacher's part—all that distinguishes the artist in the teaching craft from the artisan. Similarly, to require children to repeat names of capes and bays in the order of their occurrence, is a much easier matter than to explain the necessary connection between the character of the coast-line and the surface relief of the inland regions. Even thirty-five years ago, when I was repeating with parrot-like intelligence that Aar was in Switzerland and Abbeville in France, most teachers thought of children as possessing only a memory to be over-loaded, and a will to be made docile by external compulsion. The education of to-day realises that children have imaginative activity which can exercise itself in the world of reality as in the region of fairyland and play, and that some parts of geography afford the right culture material for this activity. We have learned too that children have germinal reasoning powers, and that to point out related geographical phenomena tends to promote in them that habit of logical thinking and of inquiry into the meaning of facts which is the most valuable result of intellectual training. Nevertheless, as this study shows, the fetish of the acquisition of lists of proper names is still too much with us.

It is impossible to avoid bringing the results of the first part of this inquiry into juxtaposition with the results of the

second part, and asking if there be any connection between them other than coincidence. The lack of contact with first hand sources of knowledge in childhood, here testified to, has surely more relation to the imperfect sense of direction and distance and to the bondage to the symbol of adult years, also here illustrated, than mere antecedence in time. It would be strange if it were not so, for this is but another illustration of the workings of the all-pervasive law of habit. If for years in the plastic period of childhood, certain associations are made and fixed by constant repetition, they become stereotyped by time. The word and the coloured paper are made to do duty so frequently for the thing, that they at length come to stand for it completely, and the thing itself is well-nigh unrecognizable and unimaginable.

5. Were you interested in any distant countries or places at any period of your childhood? What was the source of your interest, *e. g.*, the experiences of friends who had been there, books, pictures, geography, lessons or any other source?

The subjects of inquiry were not asked whether geography as taught by the methods described in the answer to the last question was to them a favorite subject of study, but many said voluntarily that they disliked it—"hated it" is a frequent expression. Hence the aim of the last question in our series was to discover if there were not some natural line of approach to the child's mind by which interest and not antagonism could be developed, for since the days of Bacon, we have known that it is more profitable to work in harmony with nature than in opposition.

One hundred and twenty-four, or 82 per cent, of the subjects of inquiry answered this question. Sixty-seven, or 44 per cent., traced the source of their interest in some place to personal association; fifty-three, or 36 per cent., said that it was due to books; seventeen, or 12 per cent., owed it to school instruction. Illustrative passages from the answers will best show what help in our study this part of the inquiry gives.

1. "I was very interested in Australia—my grandfather having lived there for some years and having told us about the gold-diggings, the natives and the kind of life he lived there."

2. "When I was about 12, a friend of mine went with her parents to live in New Westminster, British Columbia. Her letters describing Canada, and the pictures she sent to me, made me

wish very much to see it. She had crossed the American Continent by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I was much interested in all she said about the Great Lakes and the plains. Her descriptions of the life there interested me very much."

3. "I have five brothers scattered in different parts of the world. One is in Birmingham, another just home from Spain and off to Teneriffe, another in South America, one in Australia and one in Vancouver. Practically whatever continent I had to learn about, I thought about the brother who was there and who was experiencing the thing I was trying to learn. Their letters gave details of the places which made them very interesting."

4. "What made me interested in foreign countries was the fact that I wanted to learn about the countries of the foreign people met in London."

5. "When I was about 13 we were studying the geography of Europe. My interest was particularly fixed upon the study of the river Rhine. My teacher had visited this part of Europe and told us how very beautiful it was and described the different things that could be seen and I wanted to see it all myself."

6. "The teacher I had when I was 13 or 14 made all the geography lessons very interesting; she had traveled a good deal and told us of the things she had seen. These lessons gave me a very strong liking for geography."

7. "As a child, I always wanted to know what children in other countries had to do,—whether they went to school as I did, or whether they stayed at home. I remember hearing about the women in India, how they couldn't see missionaries and doctors unless they were women. I was about 10 years old and just had been ill myself. . . . I remember distinctly overlooking the missionaries and wishing some women could be doctors and go out to them. If I were told that there were some mountains on the East and West coasts of India, I was not in the least interested, but when I heard that it was so hot in India, that people couldn't live in the plains but went up on the mountains for their summer holidays, I listened. Summer holidays—why they were like me then. I went to the sea-side for my summer holidays because it was hot."

In all these cases there is a common element—the personal interest. The alien fact has value for the learners directly it can

be associated with themselves in some way. The distant foreign country, hitherto a text-book myth, has become a picturable reality when their friend, teacher, or relative has been there and written letters thence, and so, they are more ready to trust to the text-book and study its revelations and those of the map. The same is true when they can see people walking the streets of London who have come from the country which is pink-coloured on the map, or when they hear that the natives there do the same that they do.

It is much the same even with us as adults, and an analogous experience happens frequently on a larger scale. When a war breaks out, a place of whose existence we were scarcely aware, suddenly acquires tremendous interest. Maps are constructed, books are written, newspaper correspondents are dispatched to study its physical resources, the people and their mode of living. Fibres of our personality reach across the seas, and not only the fortunes of the army, but anything connected with the place and people is of vital importance to us.

Still it is obvious that every teacher of geography cannot be a globe-trotter, and very few geography pupils have brothers scattered in the four quarters of the world. This is indisputable, and yet it is possible in various ways to get something of the warm touch of intimacy with the foreign place that the quoted passages show. The foreign correspondent's letter was written as much for each member of the class who can understand as for the teacher; oranges grew in this country to be bought by them in London streets for three a penny—while the river they have been learning about to-day is three times as wide as the Thames they know.

The books mentioned as having excited interest in any place unknown, were mostly romances, *e. g.*, the "Last Days of Pompeii," "Rienzi," "Westward Ho," novels by Fenimore Cooper, Ballantyne, etc. Books of travels were mentioned to a less degree. Lady Brassey's "Travels in the Sunbeam," Stanley's "Through the Dark Continent," Nansen's "Farthest North," and missionary magazines are among those given. The fact that so few trace any interest to the geographical lesson is confirmation of the testimony given in the last answer discussed, and emphasizes the arid character of much of the geography teaching in our schools.

What is the conclusion of the whole matter? The inquiry has given some further proof of the lack of educative value in the traditional mode of teaching geography. There is thus one piece more of corroborative testimony of how not to do it. Not by impressing pictures of proper names and coloured dots and surfaces, but by bringing the learner's mind into close touch with realities, are the first notions of geography to be given. Botany, physics, and chemistry used not so very long ago to be taught out of a book. Such a method of science instruction is now antiquated, and well nigh obsolete. More and more, will the method of teaching the elements of geography out of a book be discarded.

This study has shown too, to some degree, that children in spite of their ready verbal memory do not learn lists of names because they like doing so; nor does such a method of acquisition develop intellectual curiosity in the study of geography. But our inquiry has shown that there are avenues to the child's mind through which, what is alien and remote, may be made near, and if the approach be made through these, a legitimate interest may be developed.

It may be easily urged that all this is dilettantism and that the fugitive and casual entertainment which books of travels, out-of-door nature study, pictures and newspapers afford, will not produce the robust interest in the subject that develops mental strength and sustained intellectual curiosity. To learn geography is not to study minutely the school district at first hand, and to have for China, say, vague notions of pagodas, tea and little people in pigtails and skirts.

These objections may be admitted without hesitation; hard facts have to be acquired, and in systematic and definite order, and the map must be studied. All this must be done, but the other is not to be left undone.

1. I will swit hen a rond the leages

2. If I bin that litl girls
Mother I would
licked her.

3. Mrs goodey becase her sister
was a kind girl

4. Moten cad shofase

5. I be Serve
Shine Gilly

Gilty

Gulty Gulty

STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS. IX.

Penmanship as an Index of Intelligence.

Our studies on children's drawings have so far dealt rather with the subject drawn than with the execution. In each example analyzed, we have found that, both in the subject chosen and in its treatment, we could detect the stage reached by the youthful artist in his intellectual development. It is likewise doubtless true that in the mode of execution, in the way he draws his lines and shades his spaces, each child reveals his essential character. This fact can be better illustrated by the way in which a child draws the letters with which he writes words than by a study of the more pictorial forms which make up the earlier written language of races as well as of children.

In working over many thousands of compositions, written by children of all ages, I have come to feel that a single glance at a paper, in which one sees the arrangement of its subject matter, the character of the lines and the general form of the letters, will generally tell one in advance what the character of the thought will be. Instead of drawings this month we have reproduced some of these papers.

No. 1 was written by a girl eight years old in response to the question about the child who painted the chairs. (See p. 203.) The declaration of the child that she would switch him around the legs marks her, according to the conditions of the test, as belonging to the most undeveloped group of children,—those who would resort to crude physical reactions. The particular form of physical reaction still further marks the girl as belonging to the lowest layer within the lowest group of answers given. This mode of thought, or feeling, is fittingly expressed by the irregular letters made by the sharp irregular lines. The nervous system that produced the switching remedy for an innocent child of six, when it functioned on the thought side, found adequate expression in this penmanship when it functioned on the motor side.

No. 2 was written in response to the same question by a boy

of seven, and the form of the letters and their arrangement again agrees with the sentiment expressed by the words.

No. 3 was written in response to the question: What person whom you have known or of whom you have heard or read would you most wish to be like? The choice of an acquaintance ideal again marks the child as belonging to the less developed group of minds. Evidently the writer, a boy of eight, liked Mrs. Goodey's sister, but the answer is only distantly and most indirectly related to the question. The boy did not even understand the question; the last word "like" caught in his woolly mind and he wandered off on a side track of intelligence to the grown-up sister of the little girl he liked. Surely he did not think that by being like Mrs. Goodey he could have a sister like hers. The writing and arrangement again photograph the nervous system that produced the thought.

No. 4 was written by another boy of eight in response to the same question. It evidently means: I should like to resemble my mother because she jaws,—that is, because she controls and manages things. The crowded and half-formed words, jumbled into the incomplete sentence, again indicate in advance, to the experienced reader, the thought content he will gain after he has deciphered the characters.

The four examples under 5 were picked up on scraps of paper, with eight others on which "guilty" was clearly written, in an American court room just after the jury had brought in a verdict of guilty. Their weak letters, and the uncertainty of the word as to its form or sound belong, one cannot help feeling, to minds that were acting in all unaccustomed matters on the six or seven-year-old plane. We are all cases of arrested development on many sides of our natures, but the shaping of this common word indicates a general haziness and uncertainty of minds which makes one glad that his own life or liberty is not to be disposed of by their processes of functioning.

In all this we are saying nothing of spelling. Our lives would be safe in the hands of men who wrote "gilty" on their ballots, even if they wrote it in unformed characters, if there were purpose and decision in the lines. It is the vague, indeterminate, wavering uncertainty of line and composition in all these illustrations, that marks them as the product of weak or sadly undeveloped minds.

A child, or a man, is a unit. Whenever a nervous system is so trained that it enables its possessor to cut to a line, to make a good chair, a good picture or a good written letter it has prepared the mind to think "twice two is four" or "the man is guilty." Manual training is not drawing, and penmanship is not thinking, but any kind of good and accurate work trains the nervous system, and the mind, for good work in any other field of activity. Physical, *i. e.,* manual, training precedes the more strictly mental training, and reading and arithmetic are often the real "fads" of elementary education.

NEGATIVE IDEALS.

HENRY H. GODDARD.

If sin could be swept out of the world at one stroke, would the world be better off? The thoughtful man hesitates to answer. Could we know what sin is if we did not see it about us? Would we not have to experiment for ourselves until we had seen the error of our ways? Indeed this is precisely what many a young person does, who has been brought up out of reach of evil, or who refuses to be warned by the mistakes of others. Every one is conscious of elements of strength in his own character, which came from observing undesirable traits in others.

If character is moulded by the ideal to be like "George Washington because he never told a lie" it must also be moulded by determining *not* to be like "Benedict Arnold because he was a traitor."

With a view to discovering how children actually use this negative element of character-building, we have asked some 600 Normal School students and about a hundred boys from a Trades School, this question:

"What person whom you have known or of whom you have heard or read would you not wish to be like? Why?"

The answers have been worked over and the results are here presented.

The ages included are mainly sixteen to twenty, a very few are of the age of fifteen and a few above twenty. A total of 710 papers—247 from boys and 463 from girls—are divided according to ages as follows:

Ages .	15 & 16 yrs.	17 yrs.	18 yrs.	19 yrs.	20–28 yrs.	Total.
Boys . . .	26	62	68	46	45	247
Girls . . .	45	148	122	67	81	463

Following the lines of the studies on Ideals we first look for the proportion of Acquaintances to Public Characters. The following tabulation shows the result:

ACQUAINTANCES.

						Total.
Boys	27%	24%	21%	20%	24%	23%
Girls	47%	43%	39%	45%	41%	42%

PUBLIC CHARACTERS.

						Total.
Boys	73%	76%	79%	80%	76%	77%
Girls	53%	57%	61%	55%	59%	58%

Comparing these with the figures given on page 358 of these STUDIES we see that our figures for Acquaintances are higher and Public Characters lower than those of the Ideals there given. Apparently young people from sixteen to twenty see vices in their friends more readily than they see virtues. And girls see nearly twice as many vices as boys. The Acquaintance curve shows a slight tendency to fall—somewhat less regularly with girls than with boys.

The Public Characters group splits into the following eight sub-groups. (No marked lines of tendency through the ages, showing in any of these groups, we give only the total average for boys and for girls.)

	Boys.	Girls.
Historic Characters	20%	15%
Contemporary Public Characters	13%	10%
Benedict Arnold	14.5%	7%
Quay	5%	0%
Fictitious Characters	7%	12%
The Assassin of McKinley	9%	6%
Robert Ingersoll	2%	3.5%
Poets	5%	3%

The largest group is the "Historic," which exclusive of Arnold, includes one-fifth of the boys. Arnold himself leads all individuals and is closely followed by the assassin. The villain of fiction plays a rather strong rôle with boys and nearly twice as great with girls.

The "Poets" include Burns, Poe, Coleridge, Cowper, Byron, Tennyson, George Eliot and Pope with whom is also counted one girl who says "Mark Twain. I would not want to write so many untruths. I would be afraid it would cause children to tell lies."

Following another line suggested by the studies on Ideals we find those who choose the opposite sex are as follows:

Ages	15 & 16 yrs.	17 yrs.	18 yrs.	19 yrs.	20–28 yrs.
Boys choose women	0%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Girls choose men	47%	60%	52%	49%	59%

Just as Mr. Barnes finds that girls choose men ideals, so here they find their "negative ideals" in men.

We may carry this still farther. Of these men whom the girls name, some are Acquaintances and some are Public Characters. We have carefully kept these separate with the following result:

Of Acquaintances named by girls, these are men	20%	22%	21%	23.5%	18%
Of Public Characters, these are men	70%	90%	71%	70%	88%

Four out of five girls who name an Acquaintance, name a girl, while of those who name a Public Character, four out of five name a *man.* Apparently we neither furnish our girls with noted women ideals nor do we show them by examples from history, the kind of woman they should abhor. That we ought to do the former there is no doubt. How about the latter?

It seemed desirable to know how often these people were citing some playmate, or schoolmate, whom they did not wish to be like, and how often it was some adult person in the community. Not all papers gave the necessary data. Those that did, though few, are enough to be suggestive.

Ten boys, or 20 per cent. of those naming Acquaintances, name males of equal age.

Thirty-three boys, or 67 per cent. of those naming Acquaintances, name adult males.

One boy names female of equal age.

Three boys name adult females. (Boys do not name females.)

Six girls, or 3 per cent., name males of equal age.

Twenty-eight girls, or 14 per cent., name adult males.

Seventy-seven girls, or 39 per cent., name females of equal age.

Forty-seven girls, or 24 per cent., name adult females.

Evidently boys from sixteen to twenty years old, who get their

warning examples from acquaintances, find them among adult *men,* while girls find theirs among girls of their own age.

Turning now to the reasons given, we have the following table. Often several reasons are given on one paper. Each one has been counted. These might profitably be grouped under fewer rubrics, but we have chosen to take the expressions as given in the papers so far as possible.

	Boys.	Girls.
Disloyal	25%	10%
Selfish	7	16
Jealous	1—	2.4
Unhappy life	3	5
Unwomanly	0	5
Unpopular	10	12
Neglected education	2½	5
Conceit	3	5
Disagreeable	0	4
Wicked	5½	6
Unhappy disposition	4½	11
Unchristian	5	9
Cruel	7½	9
Mean	6	3½
Deceitful	5½	9½
Ill-mannered	0	3½
Bad character	16	9½
Dangerous occupation	2	½—
Unkind	½—	2½
Profane or vulgar language	2—	2
Dishonest	6½	7
Drink (and tobacco)	10	1
Defective will power	2	2.4
Disgrace	3	½
Unhappy death	4	1½
Physical condition	4—	1
Lazy	1½	¼

Some of these terms may need explanation. "Unhappy life" refers to circumstances of environment. "Unhappy death" includes "because he was killed in an accident" or "hanged." "Physical condition" includes "cripple," "diseased," "one eye," "wears glasses," "black," "no legs," etc.

This table furnishes many suggestions and several questions. Marked sex differences appear, some of which are hard to explain.

Five per cent. of the girls say they would not be like some

person because she is "unwomanly." Why only 5 per cent.? This agrees well with the small number of woman ideals already pointed out. We furnish no adequate ideal of womanhood, hence it is next to impossible for a girl to register the judgment "That person is unwomanly."

Discussion.

Two great facts are proved by these data. First: young people do make use of the faults of others. Second: teaching is responsible for many dislikes. The way we teach literature is shown by the prominence which some of the world's greatest versifiers hold in this list of negative ideals. Likewise Arnold's record shows how history is taught.

Two questions inevitably grow out of this. First: shall education take any part in this matter of the use of un-ideal characters? It seems practically impossible to give other than an affirmative answer to this question. We do take part in it and we must. We cannot teach without mentioning bad people as bad. Is it not better to be conscious of what we are doing and wisely work to an end? One cannot examine the last table without feeling that in many cases the emphasis is very badly placed and that a little wise suggestion would be of great value to these pupils.

This brings us to the second question, What part shall we take? Shall we lay all stress on the ideal and so draw all attention from that which is not ideal? or shall we use these wrecks along life's shores to make vivid our teachings and to point out where the rocks lie?

Of the 710 persons answering our question, two girls said in substance, "I know of no one whom I would wish not to be like I think we can find some good in every one if we try." This sounds right and one can easily believe that we ought to work to that end. Inhibition by substitution is vastly better than inhibition by negation, as a rule. But can the former entirely replace the latter? The only hint of an answer from this study, lies in the fact that less than one-third of one per cent. of our people appreciate that view. It is not the language they understand.

Finally, if we take the other horn and say, "make use of the

evil in the world, as a warning against sin," we are not yet done. We are still perplexed with the question, "How?" We surely must not hunt for flaws in the great men of past and present, in public life or the narrower circle of acquaintance? Shall we even perpetuate the proved weaknesses of the benefactors of humanity, or is the natural tendency of the race to deify its heroes and forget their human frailties, the truer way? What about "The true George Washington" and the "True Benjamin Franklin?" Is not the immorality of Franklin like pictures of disease, to be hidden from more sensitive natures and kept for the perusal of those who need them—if such there be—and whose experience enables them to put the facts into proper perspective? Franklin rendered great service to his people. Let his deviations from moral standards be unnoticed in the presence of the greatness of his genius.

On the other hand there are all too many men in history whose lives have been impediments to human progress. May not these people, since the course of events brings them to notice, be held up as warnings against their particular errors? Most of the persons named in our "Historic" group belong to this class. The "Contemporary" group, however, is not so well chosen. It contains many names which the wise teacher ought to rescue as he would rescue Burns and Tennyson and the rest of the poets. Grover Cleveland, Senator Hanna, John Wanamaker, Pierpont Morgan and William Jennings Bryan are surely not worthy to head the list of un-ideal men.

Coming to acquaintances, even greater care must be exercised not to use as warnings, people whose faults are like spots on the sun, invisible unless one takes special pains to obscure the greater brilliancy of their achievements. But here again, there are characters in every community who have so far sinned out their day of grace that their only use seems to be to serve as a warning to others. May these be judiciously used by the wise teacher? It is apparently this class that the boys of our study name. The girls however are strongly given to naming their girl companions. One feels that this is a step in the wrong direction. Compare one of these seventeen-year-old girls who says "I would not like to be like Dora C. she is so conceited," with this expression of a ten-year-old: "I would like to be like Mabel E. she is so pretty and plays the piano so well." One feels the changed atmosphere in-

stantly. The former is unhealthy. If this is a necessary result of noticing the undesirable qualities in the people of our own environment, it would surely be better to ignore them.

There is another source of material, however. In her study of Ideals, Miss Wyckoff, in speaking of the application of some of her deductions says: "For ethical purposes little folks drama is effective, and can be made to work wholly in the interest of righteousness by having the naughty parts taken by "dummies."[1] The villain of fiction is the "dummy" of the play, and is free from all the objection that comes from using real people. Do we use him enough? What is the influence of this kind of literature and can it be made more effective?

Turning to the reasons given for wishing not to be like certain persons, we must be impressed with the fact that here too great care must be exercised. Should 10 per cent. object to being like a person because he is "unpopular" while only 2 per cent. are repelled by weak will power? Ought even 2 per cent. to be afraid of "danger?" What is worse than laziness?—the soil in which all vice grows—and yet it is mentioned by four boys and one girl.

What is the significance of the fact that Satan—the very personification of all that we should wish not to be like, is mentioned by only two boys and one girl? Is it because he has become so vague and abstract that as a warning he cannot compete with a bad man?

These questions seem to be suggested by the study. A complete investigation of a large number of children throughout the whole school period ought to throw light on some of these points.

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[1] *Children's Ideals*, by Adelaide E. Wyckoff. In Pedagogical Seminary, vol. viii, p. 482.

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